

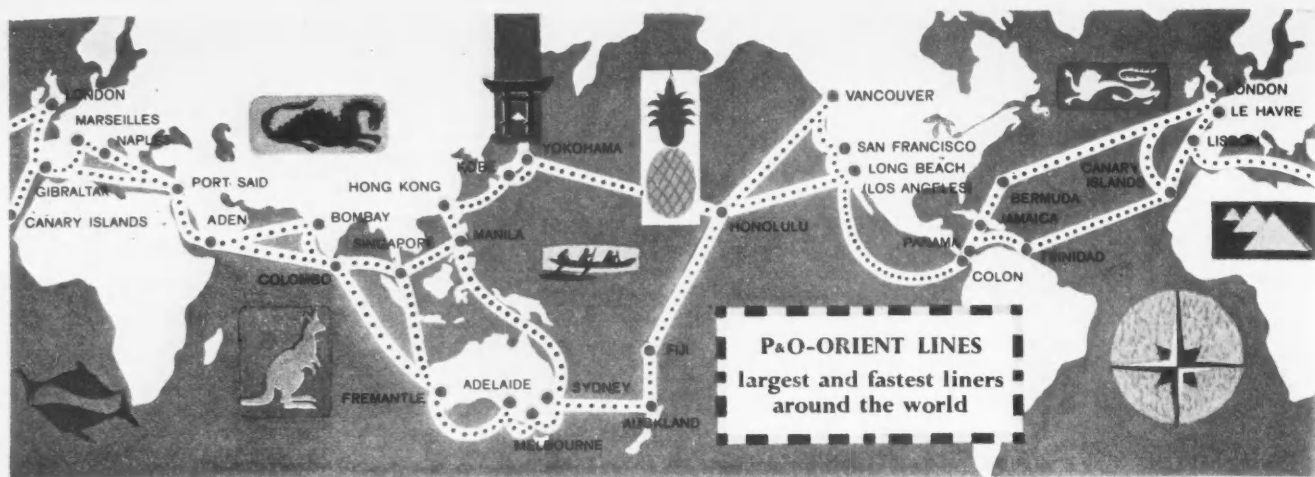
Saturday Night

Canada's Magazine of Business and Contemporary Affairs

SEPTEMBER 16TH 1961 20 CENTS



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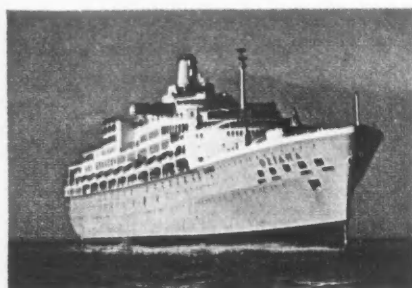
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An Announcement Concerning

Saturday Night

by Arnold Edinborough

SATURDAY NIGHT has a new owner. On September 1, it was purchased by Percy W. Bishop from Jack Kent Cooke, former owner of Consolidated Press. Mr. Bishop's company, a new company specially formed to acquire SATURDAY NIGHT and *Liberty* — the two magazines published by Consolidated Press — is Fengate Publishing Co. Ltd.

Mr. Bishop was born in New Brunswick, educated at Dalhousie and, like many other Maritimers, came to Toronto as a young man.

In the succeeding thirty years he has been active in promoting many companies, the majority of which are concerned with the development of oil and natural gas in Alberta and Manitoba, but one of which is just starting to develop a multi-million-dollar residential and business centre near Toronto.

This involvement with natural resources has led him to believe that the greatest natural resource of this country, however, is our national identity — a sense of identity which must be fostered by financially sound, politically independent and editorially trenchant journals of opinion.

It is the intention of Fengate Publishing Co. Ltd. to continue to provide such a journal in SATURDAY NIGHT.

When Edmund Sheppard founded it in 1887



The new owner and the publisher.

he said his aim would be "to make the editorial columns of SATURDAY NIGHT the most piquant and entertaining of any Canadian paper."

That aim has been kept in mind by all succeeding editors — among them Fred Paul, Hector Charlesworth and B. K. Sandwell. As editor and publisher of SATURDAY NIGHT it will be my privilege to fully realise that aim once more especially since we are about to start our 75th year of publication.

It will mean improving, both in breadth and depth, our coverage of the national, political and business scene. It will call for special international correspondents in such sensitive areas of the world as Africa, Latin America and Asia to interpret events there in Canadian terms. It will require critical reporting of what goes on in the theatres, in the art galleries, in the laboratories, in the schools and universities and in the convention centres of this country. It will demand the balanced evaluation of new economic factors, of new military policies and of a rapidly changing social environment.

For the keynote of modern Canada is change. We are changing from a rural nation to an urban one; from a primary producing nation to an industrial one; from a Commonwealth partner to a leader of the smaller powers in the United Nations.

No other nation on earth has such a potential as we have; no other nation has such a rich heritage to draw on from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Yet no other nation faces such difficulty in welding its own separate parts together to capitalise on that potential and exploit that heritage.

It is our pledge that SATURDAY NIGHT with its new stability, its increased financial resources and its expanding staff will do its part in overcoming that difficulty by interpreting Canada to ourselves as well as to our neighbors in the most lively, most unbiased and most authoritative way it has ever done in its long history.

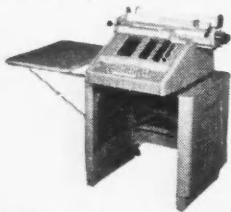
Arnold Edinborough



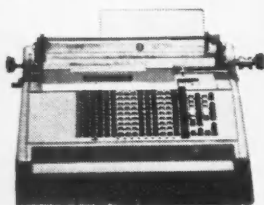
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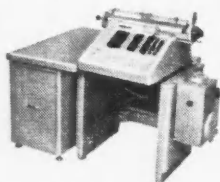
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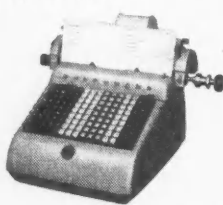
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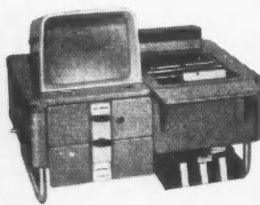
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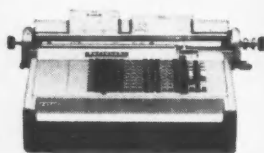
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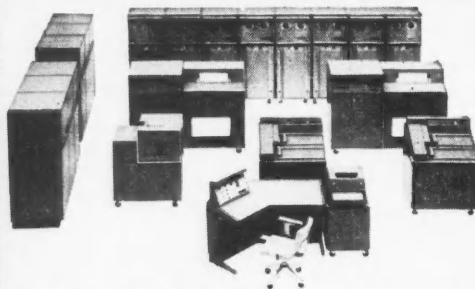


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Saturday Night

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INSIDE STORY

THE COVER: Example for Canada. Trades training in a German school.

In this issue SN presents a section on education which gives a background to the recently announced changes in the high school program in Ontario. The great problem has been the flooding of the labor market by young people without proper training for jobs; a crash program to remedy this has been announced with financial assistance coming from the federal government. **J. W. Nuttall**, Associate Editor of *School Progress*, tells of the planning and development of the scheme across Canada. **Ernest Waengler**, frequent contributor to SN, reports on how Canada can learn from the closely-controlled system of apprenticeship training in Germany and **A. M. Ross**, of the Department of English of Ontario Agricultural College, tells of the vital need of more junior colleges to salvage the great wastage of young people rejected through the necessarily high admission requirements of the universities.

Premier **W. A. C. Bennett** has rocked financial circles not only in Canada but throughout the world by his swift and arbitrary takeover of B.C. Power. **Stuart Keate**, publisher of the *Victoria Times*, tells how the politically astute Bennett has (1) robbed the CCF blind; (2) confounded critics who said promoter **Axel Wenner-Gren** had him in his pocket and (3) thumbed his nose at Ottawa. **L. T. Higgins**, Ontario economist, examines the economic implications of the deal for the whole of Canada and suggests a course of action for the cornered Ottawa government.

Frank Drea, labor specialist, looks into the labor war, marked by violence along the Seaway, which is moving toward an explosive climax . . . **Donald Gordon**, CBC correspondent in London, is flatfooted about the political future of Prime Minister **Macmillan** and gives chapter and verse to document the opinion that the PM is on the way out . . . Professor **Desmond Morton** of the Osgoode Law School, continuing his series, describes some recent unhappy experiences with the law on the part of persons charged, but not convicted. It will come as a shock to most people to learn that police practices — including fingerprinting and photographing of accused — are perfectly legal.

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Letters

Rear-View Mirror

'Twas said Napoleon failed in his bid for world empire by lacking adequate protection at his rear. Many of our visible young, and not so young, ladies could assimilate a valuable lesson from the experience of Mons. Bonaparte.

The spectacle displayed on sidewalks, buses and streetcars of slacks which are far from slack, shorts that are supershort, emphasizing a bold length of bare thighs and broadminded rumps, leaves one gasping. In my opinion this deliberate barefaced exposure is a direct challenge to what would otherwise be dormant male passions; at very least is deplorably lacking in modesty.

TORONTO

BERT RICHARDS

Distorted News

Although in agreement with Harry Rasky's iconoclastic tirade [SN August 19] against the lack of spontaneity and individual assessment in the field of American news media, I feel it necessary to come to the defence of the radio and television stations which, Rasky states, base their news reports largely on "handout reports from the Associated Press or UPI . . ."

Surely Rasky does not suggest that every radio or television station now operative in North America can afford to send one of their news staff to the scene of the latest international crisis? And if they could, does he believe that the standards of "objective" reporting would be raised by having world affairs reported upon by men whose training is by necessity limited to police court work, and notes on intra state — or provincial — politics?

The truth of the matter is that many small stations rely on the news coverage afforded by the wire services. For this they pay, and they can hardly be blamed for accepting information off the wires at face value. The point can be made that, by and large, the quality of announcing leaves much to be desired, and the interest taken by the newscaster in the material which he reads is nearly always minimal — or so it would seem — but this is hardly the fault of the station's newsroom.

I must, however, agree with Rasky's view on general handling of stories emanating from South America. As a former resident of Venezuela, I find it

a trifle discouraging to note the often distorted reports made on — I am sure they could not be "from" — that country.

One magazine in particular has earned for North Americans the wrath of their southern neighbors for the cavalier attitude it has taken — and will probably take again — toward Latin American movements for social and economic betterment. This publication has made light of, and/or distorted the Canadian political scene as well, without, I may add, a whimper of protest from its Canadian readers. So, what to do, Rasky?

Harry Rasky's point is well taken, but, dissension being universal, can we take his representation of the facts as being "necessarily so?"

MONTREAL

JOHN H. SANSOM

Across Two Borders

Gracias! Many thanks for publishing Harry Rasky's article "The Failure of U.S. News Media."

After having read *The Ugly American*, and *Nation of Sheep*, Rasky's article confirms, once again, the fact that the U.S. press is not exercising the responsibility that comes with freedom of the press and requires an alert and constant self-criticism which leads to the objective and truthful presentation of the news, to the impartial and intelligent formulation of judgments and to the accurate evaluation of the news, in order to attract the mass of readers toward paths of concord and of harmonically co-ordinated action.

Unfortunately in the past couple of months, very unpleasant reports regarding conditions in my country have appeared in the U.S. press. While unintentional and without malice, published reports of public events and demonstrations in Mexico have been misinterpreted by the U.S. public and possibly by some Canadians as well.

The results, besides having an adverse effect on our tourist trade and promotions, have been most distressing especially at a time when the U.S. government is trying its best to obtain the assistance, cooperation and trust of the Latin-American nations.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a mimeographed copy of a circular published by the Comité Norteamericano Pro-Mexico, a non-profit organization of Canadian and U.S. citizens

residing in Mexico who represent over one hundred of the most important U.S. and Canadian firms operating in Mexico. I think you will be able to appreciate, shall we say — the other side of the coin?

Once again, my most sincere congratulations for your excellent presentation. I do sincerely hope your readers will appreciate the importance of Mr. Rasky's article.

Mexican Government Tourism Department Director
JUAN M. BUENDIA
TORONTO

Keep It Up

Re your reader's letter titled "News and Duty", signed Jon Anderson [SN August 5].

I wish to take exception to his calling "SN" reading a "rather dreary duty". As a faithful reader of both *Time* and "SN" for a good ten years, if not an actual subscriber of either for as long, this has been the adopted attitude towards both magazines.

Time, as reader Anderson states, is unbeatable for its full coverage of the important news of the week, however American-slanted they may be interpreted.

To counter this ill-effect, SATURDAY NIGHT provides a distinctly Canadian interpretation of the news, and deals at length with subjects of little interest to U.S.-centered *Time*, and what is more important, digs deep to find the significance behind these subjects.

Of course, this is a Canadian's — and a French-Canadian's, at that — point of view. However, it is shared by all our New-Canadian friends, and from their comments, a person can safely take SN's interpretation of the news as being the "uncommitted nation's", therefore well-balanced, sensible and a must, in the case of international news. As for strictly Canadian items, and Canadians' comments in Letters to the Editors, it is indispensable!

Here's to a "rather dreary duty", which I take along to forget the bus rides to work, and for which I get up at two a.m., to read in the kitchen after our noisy and demanding family is tucked to bed!

Keep it up!

NORMAND CHARLEBOIS
HAMPSTEAD, QUE.

SATURDAY NIGHT

Socred Menace

Which is it?

Are you blind or am I blind to your ability or lack of ability? You have taken me by surprise. I had some value for your opinion.

Now when I see you giving support to a party called "The Social Credit Party" [SN August 5] I am amazed! Do you realize what they stand for? Do you realize it and support it?

I have followed this party carefully. Time after time their members show fascist characteristics—in U.S.A. they would be the segregationist—in South Africa the Apartheid Party—in Germany the Nazis. They foster the very things the whole world is fighting to abolish i.e. superiority of any race — any religion and any people.

Why do they think they are—because they are British and white—superior to those not British and not white? Isn't this precept the cause of half the troubles in this world today? How can you give your support to the one party in Canada with these ideas?

If you don't see how dangerous they are, you are not as astute as I thought—and if you know and support them I overestimated you greatly.

In either case I am shocked and disappointed.

MONTREAL

MARY L. SHARP

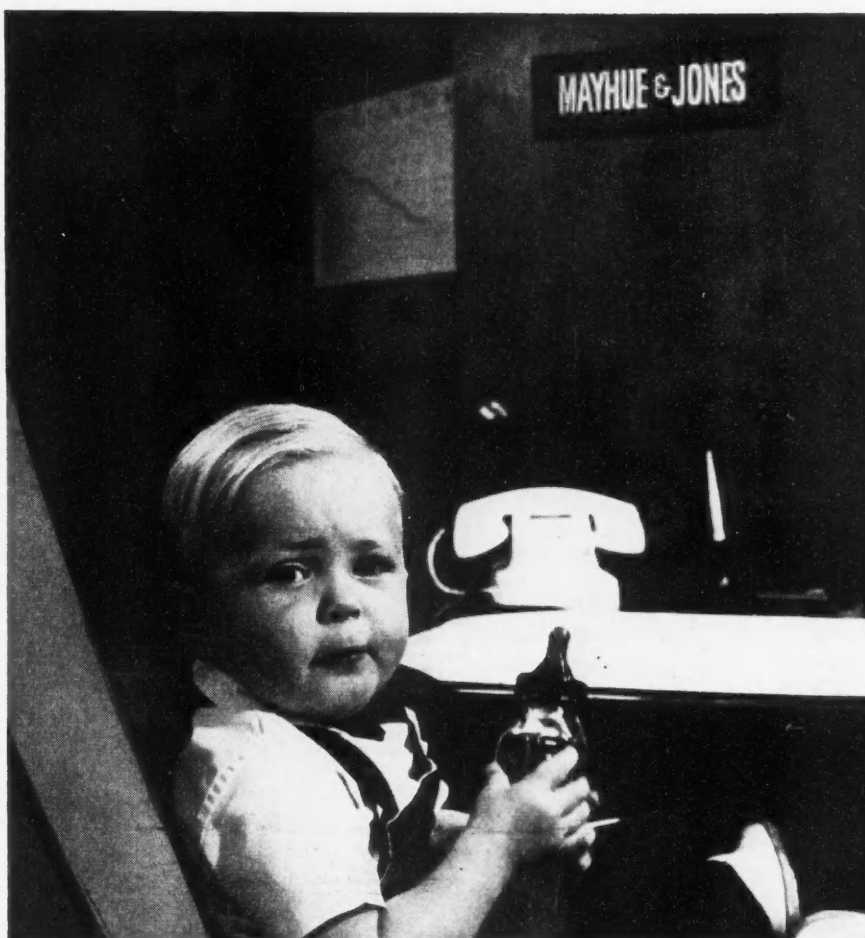
Take Cover!

I dislike quarreling with the otherwise fine job your magazine is doing in reporting the events in today's Canada, but I must protest the one-sided view of Civil Defence that you present.

You seem to imply that it is the duty of those in Ottawa to build adequate shelters for every civilian. With the obviously limited funds available, Ottawa cannot possibly construct shelters in every city, or even in every large city. Even if it could be done, those who survived would require trained technical personnel and some sort of government to guide reconstruction—so what is wrong with building government shelters first?

The duty of Civil Defence, after all, is not to give every man in the street his own snug shelter, but rather to offer him a sound education in survival; in what he can do to protect himself. If a bomb should fall, certainly no U.S. or Canadian citizen wants to be helpless—so help yourself!

We appear to find the money for payments on new cars, television sets, and garbage disposals, but let's remember that we must be alive to use them. A "hole in the ground," completely wired, with four bunks and an air filter, was installed in our back yard



Meet Mr. Mayhue's New Partner!

Getting decisions at Mr. Mayhue's office is tough today! Baby Jones, the new partner, displays a lack of clear thinking and his many changes keeps the office in an uproar. Mr. Mayhue, the not-so-silent senior partner, has been acting most unfriendly to those advisors who should have told him about partnership insurance and arranged a "buy and sell agreement" using Crown's Guaranteed Equity Plan for financing.

Babies, brothers-in-law, and untrained executors stay out of your business and you can select a profitable and congenial partner if your partner's death made such an action necessary. The exclusive advantage of Crown's Guaranteed Equity Plan keeps the assets in the plan liquid for business emergencies.

Baby Jones isn't happy either with the pressure of business . . . Mr. Mayhue's uncontrollable temper has made sleeping on the job impossible.

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for under \$1,000. When the government cannot finance our protection we must invest in our own futures.

I believe that standard Civil Defence courses are available in Canada as well as in the United States. If they are not, you have a change in administration coming in the not-too-distant future. Make sure that the administration knows that you want Civil Defence instruction, and that you are willing to bear part of the financial burden of paying qualified instructors for the courses.

Forego the 1962 car and find a reliable company to build your shelter. Civil Defence cannot hope to provide for 18 million people if they are unwilling to help themselves. And good luck!

TULSA, OKLA.

JANICE BRODSKY

Drugged Logic

Assuredly, your valid fears of American domination of Canada are driving you to write strange pieces of logic! The latest gem is the following.

In "The Great Debate on Drug Prices" [SN August 5] Arthur Law writes that "U.S. drug companies, in particular, will have to stop considering Canada their own back yard and transform their subsidiaries from branch plants to autonomously-run entities engaged in independent policies towards manufacture and sales."

Now surely, if the U.S. companies let their subsidiaries be really autonomous, these in turn would have to do their own research instead of obtaining it from the U.S. as at present. Can you logically argue that this would lower drug prices? Furthermore, are Canadian companies financially and technically equipped to do this? The answer is surely obvious.

Responsible and objective journalism, please, gentlemen!

LOS ALTOS, CAL.

PAUL J. BENETEAU

Awful Example

In Comment of the Day [SN August 5], you mention the "awful example of American publishers", with regard to their greeting of the Civil War Centenary. You do not go on to explain, however, what this awful example is.

The only publishing I have seen on the subject is that in *Life* magazine, and the *National Geographic*, both of which were anything but awful.

Therefore I am very curious. To what do you refer?

GRIMSBY

CATHERINE THOMPSON

Editor's note: Our reference was to the dozens of new Civil War book titles now pouring from the publishers — not to the periodical press.

Comment of the Day

Round Number

SOME READERS — apart from librarians — may note that the Whole Number Index on Page 3 of this issue has reached the satisfying figure of 3,400. We regard this conjunction with the announcement appearing on Page 1 as a fortunate omen.

Thirty-four hundred is a lot of copies of a magazine and many people have put their heads — and their hearts and hands — into its writing and production over many decades. Four years from now we are looking forward to passing the 3,500 mark — unless fortune smiles more quickly in the meantime — and we hope that our readers will then be according to the publication the same good-will which we now enjoy.

This good-will we regard as a tangible asset and one of the most valuable in our possession — it has been manifested across the country in recent weeks. In return, we promise maintenance of the quality and enterprise of the past; we trust that we may be accorded the acuity of mind and felicity of phrase to maintain a great Canadian tradition.

Small Voice?

POLITICIANS are supposed to learn the verities among the mythical grass roots of the country. Possibly there are fewer people who have time to listen to the grass grow than the busy editors of the nation's weekly newspapers; at the same time no one can deny that the voices they hear are deep and significant.

The politicians — a committee of the Cabinet — to whom the report of the O'Leary Commission has now reputedly been referred may therefore find significance in the fact that the weekly editors, at their recent national convention, unanimously urged full implementation of the report. This finding arose, naturally, from the submission made by the weeklies at the hearings of the Commission.

We mention this merely because recently there has been an attempt on the part of certain American publications — through selective quotation — to convince Canadians that newspaper opinion was largely against the O'Leary recommendations. That this is far from the case has been shown by the Cana-

dian Periodical Press Association.

In the meantime the soft breeze bending the grass may at least blow away the fog of muddled thinking.

Leadership

IT HAS LONG been the custom in the democracies to believe that their chosen leaders — merely because they have achieved leadership — are endowed with wisdom and foresight not available to the ordinary man. And this despite some horrible examples from not-too-distant history.

Now Harold Macmillan of Great Britain — whose political shortcomings are documented in full by Donald Gordon on Page 41 of this issue — has been shocking his countrymen by his open disinterest in German affairs. How a Prime Minister of one of the great powers can believe that the barbed-wire of Berlin has been strung only in the minds of newspaper editors passes understanding.

This journal has pointed out frequently in the past the blame which the Press — particularly that of the U.S. — must share in exacerbating conditions but this does not mitigate harsh facts. Shooting grouse and larking on the greens in a time when others are manning command posts may show superb self-confidence. Or it may show a ghastly failure to read the times aright.

Nobody has ever believed that Macmillan is as stupid as he would appear to look. Maybe he is.

Germany and Canada

HOW THE BERLIN situation looks is not easy to assess from wire-service news. To get an accurate point of view SATURDAY NIGHT asked two of the most influential editors of the West German Republic for their comments. Dr. Reinhold Heinen, editor of the *Kölnische Rundschau* cabled from Cologne:

"After the first alarm the determined attitude of the Berliners and that of our Western Allies quickly steadied public opinion. Consequently no important change in political leadership will result. After the election the chancellor still will be Adenauer — whether his own party retains their overall majority or not.

"We hope from the Canadian people

a continuation of their clear and decisive advocacy. Only in this way can be attained the peace we all so fervently desire."

Dr. Felix Buttersack, editor of the *Münchner Merkur*, one of the foremost newspapers of Southern Germany, cabled from Munich:

"This is just the first phase of the Berlin crisis. We look to the future with apprehension, yet with confidence that our Allies, faithful to their obligations, will keep West Berlin free. Slow reaction from the West disappointed at first, but Vice-president Johnson's visit has turned our mood into confidence. Because of this no decisive change is expected from the coming election. While the Social Democrats have gained somewhat from Brandt's resolute stand, the majority will vote for the continuation of Adenauer's foreign policy.

"Canada is here considered as one of the foremost NATO partners — especially because of its influence on the occasionally vacillating attitude of Great Britain towards the Soviet Union."

Obviously what we think matters. We should therefore pay more attention to what we think.

Dugout Minds

THE RESULTS OF craven government indecision on defence policy have become very clear to the people of this country in the past few days. Stirred to final action by the Berlin crisis and the sabre-rattling from below the border Ottawa has now decided to put a second line of military headquarters into commission to cope with any knockout blow to the present set-up. The provincial governments have begun to let contracts to get themselves underground.

Just who the Army is going to command and who the governments are to govern is not so clear. There are few shelters in the country, either private or public, and in some areas where private individuals have built a basement shelter their only encouragement has been an increase in municipal tax assessment.

We have had no real information about the readiness of our troops in Europe but the government seems to be ready to agree to their arming with



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nuclear weapons if Washington allows it. That such a solemn and serious step is even remotely contemplated without a full dress debate in Parliament is almost incredible.

But then the whole solemn rigmarole of preparing for the suicide of humanity with the same unctuous stuffiness as we would prepare for the opening of a new section of the Trans-Canada highway is incredible. And to talk to some officials in Ottawa is to be aghast at their easy acceptance of the cataclysm. It is as if they are so fascinated by the staff work that they have not realized what the appalling end of such work is.

Escape Hatch

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT, indeed, to exaggerate the importance of Parliament's handling of the issues which have arisen from Premier Bennett's takeover of British Columbia's largest private utility. The danger is that Canada may be forced to make disastrous concessions to the United States to appease U.S. anger.

Bennett's takeover of B.C. Electric Co. was a calculated affront to Ottawa's hopes for developing the power potential of the Columbia river. In its place, Bennett would substitute development of the Peace River and hope to force Ottawa into permitting him to export surplus power to the U.S. For the fact is that economic reality precludes the development of both the Peace and the Columbia.

This is a point fully realized by the U.S. The Treaty to develop the Columbia, signed and ratified by the U.S. but not yet ratified by Canada, promises a staggering bargain for U.S. power interests. On the basis of both U.S. and Canadian projections, the cost of energy received from downstream benefits from the Columbia in the U.S. is estimated at 0.9 mills per kilowatt hour. Canadian costs have been estimated at 4.0 mills. For a kilowatt year, the U.S. costs are \$8.30 and Canadian costs \$35.00.

Nor is this all the story. The International Columbia River Engineering Board has estimated that the downstream benefits, in terms of cheapest available alternative, are worth \$41.74 a year. The net benefits, therefore, come out at \$33.44 for the U.S. and only \$6.74 for Canada. In addition to the tremendous financial advantage to the U.S., Canada would be practically barred from further hydroelectric development work in Canada which might in any way affect the Columbia.

It might be well to consider now whether Bennett's move has not, in fact, provided Canada with a timely escape from this overbearing Treaty

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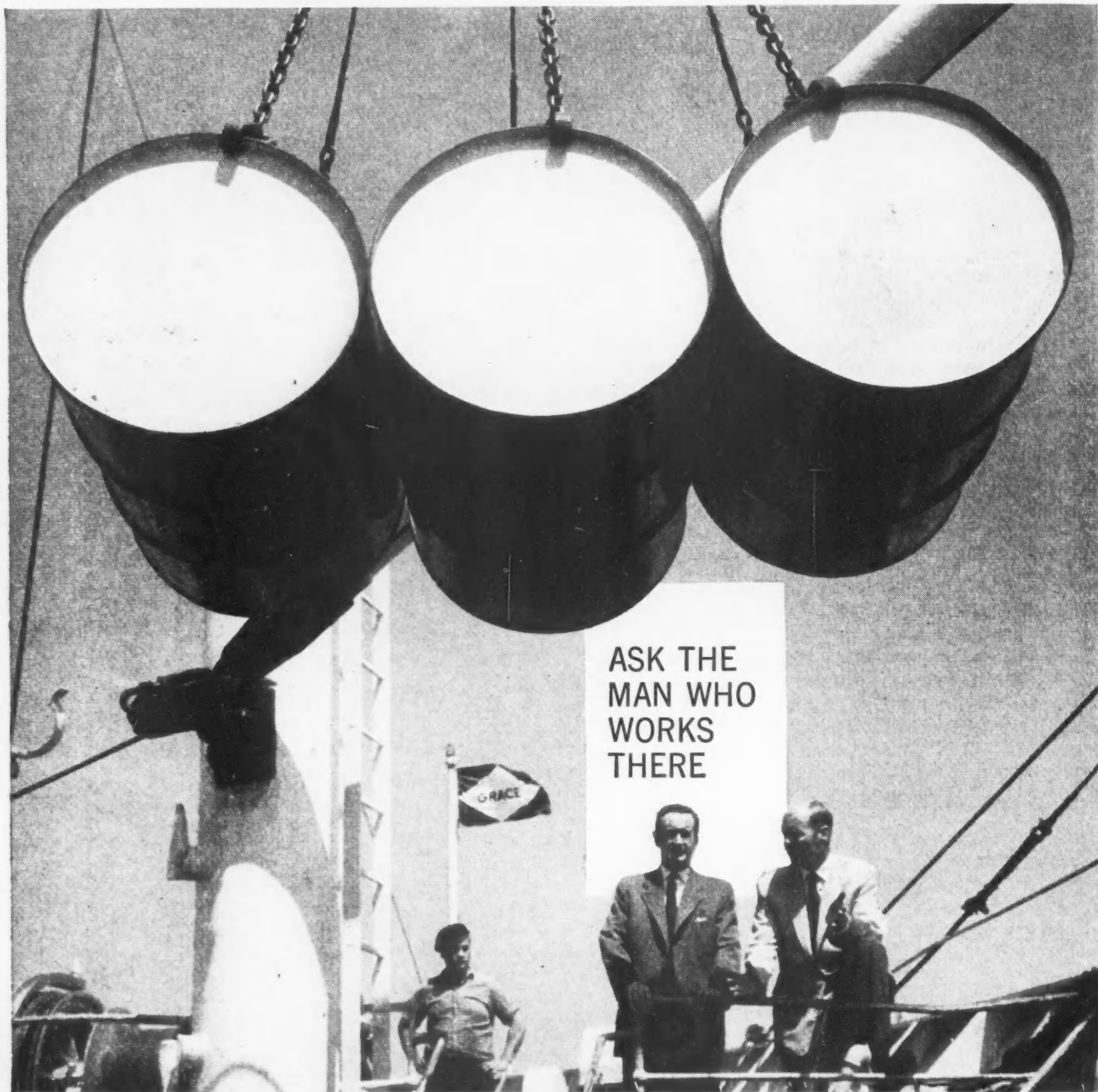


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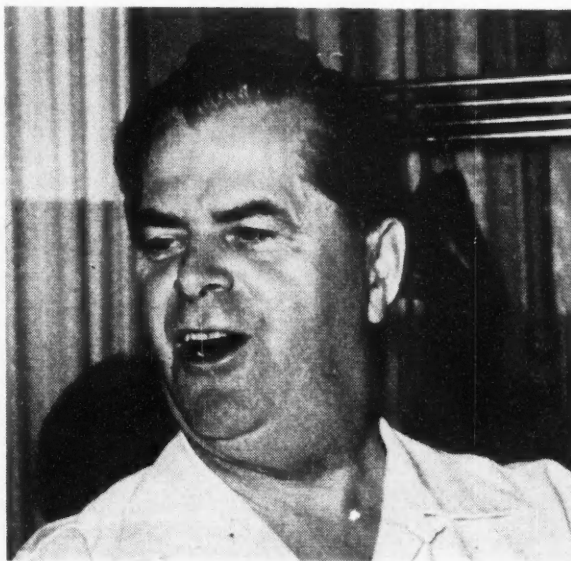
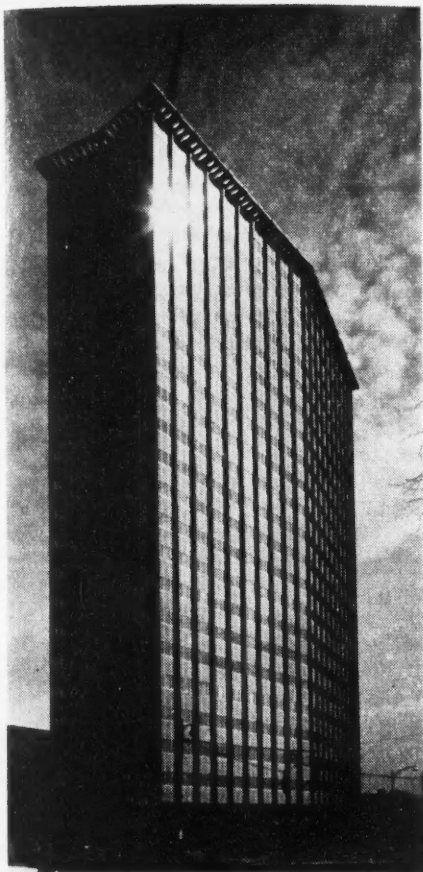
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Dal Grauer's lifework is epitomized by B.C. Electric Co. Building. Bennett's grab angered shareholders.

The Smile of the Tiger:

Why Bennett Took Over B.C. Power

by Stuart Keate

AT APPROXIMATELY the same moment that the body of Dr. A. E. (Dal) Grauer was being lowered into a Vancouver grave, on the first day of August anno domini 1961, services of a different kind were being held in the legislature in Victoria: the last rites were being read over Dal Grauer's lifework and masterpiece, the B.C. Electric Company, by Premier W. A. C. Bennett.

This remarkable and historic coincidence was recorded for posterity in a grim photograph printed in the *Daily Province* the next day. The news picture showed the cortege of Vancouver's largest funeral passing by the twinkling diamond of a building, fondly known as "Grauer's Towers," which dominates the civic skyline and epitomizes the power and energy of the \$100-million-a-year utility.

The *Province* was widely criticized for publishing what many considered a vulgar picture; but, like many vulgar undertakings, it was essentially true. An era was passing. An opulent, highly-respected private enterprise was having its lights turned out.

Reaction to the take-over of the company, valued at some \$650 millions, ranged from placid acceptance to stunned disbelief. High-ranking officers of the firm moved about in an aura of psychological trauma. Up to the very moment of the announcement in Victoria, they had refused to believe it was possible.

The man on the street, quizzed by various news media, said that it was fine by him if his light bill was reduced.

Nonagenarian press gallery veteran James Morton was reminded of a

poem:

*"There was an old party of Niger
Who smiled as he rode on a tiger.
They finished the ride
With the party inside
And the smile on the face of the
tiger."*

Common shareholders, advised that they would be paid out at \$38, conceded that they were luckier than the victims of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power seizure of the late '40s.

Preferred shareholders were furious. They were advised that they would get fixed-interest-rate debentures in exchange, thus losing the federal tax credit of 20 per cent on dividend payments.

"I bought those shares for security, for the growth possibility, and for the 'leverage' as the bonds are retired," a seasoned investor protested. "In return,



Bennett held conference on banks of the Peace to describe development plans.

Bennett hands me a dirty shirt."

Others branded as "iniquitous" the fact that the deal was presented as a *fait accompli*, with no proper arbitration and no right of appeal. Ironically, they point out, the government had just appointed the Hon. J. V. Clyne as a royal commissioner to devise a fair method of expropriating private property.

The transfer agents of the company informed Toronto that they would not complete certificates for transfer after August 1; in effect, a deep freeze was imposed on the shares. The Investment Dealers Association of Canada mounted a nation-wide campaign of protesting letters, arguing that proper arbitration procedures would be necessary to "help restore the shaken confidence of Canadian and foreign investors in the integrity of the government."

In London, the financial editor of the *Sunday Telegraph* wrote: "Canada is rapidly acquiring the financial reputation of one of the more unstable South American republics."

B.C.'s newspapers called the deal "nationalization", "expropriation" and a "Sacred seizure." The investment dealers were more bitter. They described it as a "grab" and outright confiscation.

What was behind it all? How did it happen that Premier Bennett, that great champion of free enterprise and beneficiary of B.C. Electric campaign funds, should turn up as the architect of this most socialistic of ventures?

To understand this, it is necessary first to understand Premier Bennett himself.

The image of this man as a small-town hardware merchant is illusory. William Andrew Cecil Bennett is as astute and tough a politician as has appeared on the Canadian scene in this

century. Every time he leaves Victoria the whole of Vancouver Island rises a foot.

He freely confesses that politics and politicians have been his consuming interest since boyhood in New Brunswick. A friend once challenged him to take a holiday on the basis that he would be fined \$1 every time he mentioned politics, and later claimed: "Cece owed me \$67 by the time the Victoria plane landed in Vancouver."

Bennett's chain of hardware stores in the Okanagan, friends say, has made him close to a millionaire in his own right. During the war years, he was known as a man who could deliver the goods. He was also known as a canny trader who wouldn't budge an inch on a contract.

In his home town of Kelowna he was "into everything" and widely recognized as a good, community-minded citizen. In this, he was aided by a charming and self-effacing wife who refused to discuss politics and devoted all her time to family, church and social-service activities.

As a rock-ribbed Tory, "Cece" Bennett was defeated only once—when he stood for Yale in a federal by-election of 1948. But within the rigid confines of the Conservative party this man of restless energy and maverick disposition began to feel ill-at-ease and hamstrung. In 1947 he challenged Herbert Anscomb for the provincial leadership of the party and was defeated.

When the wartime Coalition government began to give signs of rupture, and the public was clearly becoming fed up with both the old-line parties, Bennett saw his chance. He crossed the floor of the house in 1951 to become an Independent. Shortly thereafter, to the astonishment of everyone,

he emerged as an apostle of Social Credit.

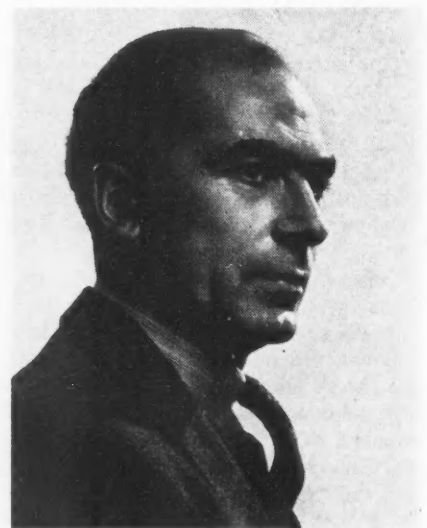
He had, therefore, participated in four distinct political alliances in a decade. This, his critics said, made it obvious that he was a man of no abiding political convictions; he was a man in search of votes.

Elected in 1953 with a clear Social Credit majority, after nine months of leading a minority government, Bennett had at last what he had so long sought: the power to implement his ideas. He set about building his province with such furious resolve that a colleague was constrained to remark: "Rome wasn't built in a day—but if Cece had been there, it would have been."

From the outset, his program was replete with contradictions. Having been elected on a pledge of "progressive reduction of the sales tax," he increased it from three to five per cent, arguing that the extra revenue was needed for hospital insurance. A teetotaler (and onetime important shareholder in a Kelowna winery) he carried forward the broadening of liquor legislation, as indicated in a Liberal plebiscite, and established cocktail lounges—a courageous step for a man recognized as a "dry" and held in high esteem by temperance people.

While attacking the direct debt of the province, which he said was crippling expansion, he launched a free-spending program of public works which saw the indirect debt (or "contingent liabilities," as his bookkeepers call them) climb to an unprecedented \$600 millions.

Out of this came a complex of visual monuments — roads, bridges, tunnels and fast ferries — which added immeasurably to the lives of the 1,000,000 British Columbians who live in the Vancouver-Victoria circle. The centennial celebrations of 1958 turned into



Dal Grauer: An untimely passing.

a province-wide shivaree which left in its wake useful bijoux in the way of civic art galleries, libraries, swimming pools and — in one remote community — some inside plumbing.

The principles of Douglas Social Credit and the abracadabra of the A-plus-B Theorem were largely forgotten and rarely mentioned, except by party purists. Bennett thought he saw a So-cored "dividend" in the \$28 homeowners' grant — recently increased to \$50 — which so bemused the voters that they didn't realize that an arbitrary government equalization of assessments act had in many cases more than doubled their taxes.

True, there were some setbacks along the way. Lands and Forests Minister Robert Sommers, once described by Premier Bennett as "one of my most brilliant young men", went to jail for accepting bribes. The vital First Narrows bridge in Vancouver caved in during construction, with a dreadful loss of lives. Roads minister Gagliardi was convicted of contempt of court. A quiet man named Lee Briggs, general manager of B.C. Hydro, decided to kick over the traces on the Premier's plan to re-finance the system, showing that it would cost the people money, and was summarily banished, but with his integrity unimpaired.

In the meantime, the Premier had pushed the Pacific Great Eastern railway into a northland rich in timber, wheat, oil and natural gas. With his flair for the dramatic, Bennett drove a golden spike at the northerly terminus, whooped it up with barbecues and rube bands, and spoke glowingly of links with Alaska and the neighboring Socreds of Alberta.

On the flag-draped platform when he spoke at Fort St. John was a man recently arrived on the British Columbia scene, a certain Bernard Gore of London, Lisbon and other European capitals. Gore was the representative of Dr. Axel Wenner-Gren, the Swedish industrialist who had been *persona non grata* in five countries (including Canada) during the war for his sympathies with the Nazis, but who had captivated Premier Bennett with a grandiose plan for building a monorail into the north country and developing the Peace River as a mighty source of hydro-electric power.

Bennett, over the heated protests of at least one newspaper, had welcomed Dr. Wenner-Gren to British Columbia ["Axel in Wonderland": SN April 13, 1957] with exploratory rights to 40,000 square miles in the heart of the province. In defence of his actions, the Premier said that he was "giving away nothing" and could acquire the surveys at cost if the Peace River promoters failed to meet their commitments.

Simultaneously, studies were going forward on development of the Columbia, which federal experts argued was closer to major consumer markets and therefore cheaper. Thus the stage was set for a mighty conflict, with stakes in excess of \$1 billion, and involving the governments at Ottawa, Washington and Victoria.

The Columbia, obviously, was a matter for international negotiations since it rose in Canada, flowed into the United States, and offered a rich return to this country by way of downstream benefits. But there was a tiny caveat somewhat underestimated by the international negotiators: the issuance of a water licence was under the control of Bennett, who has little love for his ex-Tory friends in Ottawa.

To on-the-spot observers of this power play, Bennett's preference for the Peace was obvious. Cabinet minister's roamed the service-club luncheon circuit, slide transparencies in hand, to extoll the virtues of this enchanting vista. To the public, the Premier said: "There's no conflict. We will develop both rivers."

How this could be done baffled investors, who pointed out that total costs of the two were projected at something like \$1.2 billions. Even more important, the whole vision was predicated on export of power to the United States and Ottawa had said flatly it would not revoke its historic policy in this regard. How, then, was the deal bankable?

In British Columbia, the only two consumers — B.C. Electric and B.C. Hydro — adopted a watch-and-wait attitude. Dal Grauer went quietly ahead, developing thermal power, and purchasing a field of low-grade coal at Hat Creek which would be a useful hedge against future developments.

The Peace River boys, in what one cynic described as "Operation Air-Wick," adorned their board with some highly respectable names, including briefly that of Viscount Alexander. While Ottawa and Washington continued their arduous negotiations, engineers scurried back and forth between Canada and England and optimistic statements were issued by Peace River Power Development, saying that \$7 million in preliminary surveys had demonstrated that their scheme was entirely feasible.

When it was revealed, two years ago, that B.C. Electric had invested \$500,000 in the Peace project, a local wit observed: "Dal's anted-up a blue chip." But earlier this year it was disclosed that the Vancouver-based utility had acquired 20 per cent of the deal, in spite of the fact that Grauer had only recently described the Columbia "as the last great source of cheap

power in North America."

What had caused him to change his mind? Was it the fact that the Columbia seemed stalled after Bennett had entered a letter protesting the financial terms of the deal — and after Mr. Diefenbaker had hurried off to Washington to sign a treaty before President Eisenhower left office?

Or was the clue the forthright threat of Premier Bennett, uttered in the legislature earlier this year, that he might have to expropriate the B.C. Electric? Reporters who asked him to enlarge on the statement at the time were told curtly: "I meant what I



B.C.'s Bennett and Dr. Wenner-Gren.

said; no more, no less."

Curiously, the remark caused only a mild flutter with the public, which perhaps attributed it to the tensions of a session in which Bennett had delivered two speeches consisting entirely of the sentences: "Blah, blah, blah" and "Fluff, fluff, fluff." (He later, in his extraordinary summer session, combined these phrases to produce the indictment: "Flub, flub, flub.")

Had the public looked closer at the Premier's threat — as Grauer most certainly did — they might have accorded it more weight. As long ago as 1947, sitting as a private member, Bennett had come out in favor of nationalizing the utility. He repeated it in the mid-'50s.

When he returned to the subject in the legislature this year, a shareholder arose at the annual meeting of the B.C. Electric and asked Grauer for an assessment, saying that he was worried. The president's answer, in effect, was this: "If it did happen, I am sure we

would receive fair treatment; but I don't think it will, because Bennett is a free-enterprise man and he wouldn't want to discourage investment in British Columbia."

This answer, of course, did not touch on the political. And Bennett, having lost six seats in the last election, and holding office with a minority of the popular vote, knew that he needed a sure-fire issue to shore up his beleaguered ramparts.

The B.C. Electric has been a tempting prize for British Columbia's politicians for two decades. Former Premier John Hart considered taking it over in the 1940s, finally compromised by setting up the publicly-owned B.C. Hydro, to service the hinterland.

The CCF has been railing against B.C. Electric rates for 25 years. While its industrial charges compare favorably with the North American average, individual householders pay light bills two or three times as high as their compatriots in Ontario and Quebec.

Then, too, private power has become something of an anachronism in Canada, where 78 per cent of all meters are spliced into public power in one form or another. Only B.C., Alberta and Newfoundland remained as hold-outs against the popular trend.

For Bennett, there was another vital enticement: money. In tax-sharing talks with Ottawa he had argued that British Columbia wasn't getting its fair share of B.C. Electric's corporation tax, valued at some \$3.4 millions. He also had a covetous eye cocked at the \$44 millions which the B.C.E. had tucked away in a deferred-tax fund under depreciation allowances on capital assets.

Early this year Bennett made up his mind: he would steal the CCF clothes while they were in swimming. He would use the tactics of socialism to combat socialism.

Preparation of the necessary take-over legislation was conducted in an atmosphere of cloak-and-dagger intrigue — as he blandly explained later, Bennett "did not want to upset the market." It is said that only five of his confederates were privy to the impending coup.

Nevertheless Tom Gould, Ottawa correspondent of the *Victoria Times*, flushed out the story in the nation's capital and reported it in detail on July 5. The immediate local reaction was one of uneasiness, bewilderment, and downright disbelief.

When the announcement was confirmed at the extraordinary August 1 sitting, the news hit the Coast with lightning impact. What shook the financial world was not so much the act itself, but the manner of its execution.

Bennett had seized the B.C. Electric

on his own terms, with the Peace as a chaser. The whole thing was tidied up in three days. The opposition was in disarray. The CCF couldn't oppose too strongly, since it had long advocated the take-over, but when it sought to debate the subject, in the larger context of the Peace and the Columbia, it got nowhere.

Wheeling impatiently in his legislative seat under the angry blasts of his political opponents, Bennett finally leaped to his feet and cried: "Do you want an election?"

When, late in the evening, Liberal leader Ray Perrault said he had "five questions that must be answered" the Premier said:

"I am not going to answer them. You will take this bill and you will like it."

The vote was 50-0 in favor. Thus, in one sledgehammer blow, in a matter of a few hours, Bennett had (1) robbed the CCF blind; (2) confounded critics who said Wenner-Gren had him in his pocket by engorging him as well; (3) thumbed his nose at Ottawa.

This latter was achieved when the B.C. Energy Board, created by Bennett to determine the relative costs of the Peace and the Columbia, brought into the special session a report which said that the two rivers could be developed at approximately the same price per kilowatt.

This adjudication was strongly denied by the Hon. Davie Fulton, who said that an independent engineering survey had shown that the Columbia was much the cheaper of the two. It also brought a minority report, dissenting, from Dr. Henry F. Angus, the only economist on the Board, who con-

tended that it did not have sufficient information to justify its judgment as between public and private power.

Nevertheless the Board and its new chairman, the retired UBC physicist Dr. Gordon Shrum, plunged ahead with its Peace plans with what seemed to be almost indecent haste. Within a few days — although it still lacked water rights reserves — the crown corporation ordered engineering surveys on access roads and a temporary bridge.

Within a few days of that, financing had been arranged for the pay-out of the B.C.E. common stock and a check for \$110 millions delivered; a \$100 million issue of parity bonds, backed by the government and paying 5%, callable at any time, had been issued and over-subscribed.

This, too, worried orthodox financiers, who pointed out that the province had now issued \$210 millions in callable money, and what would happen if tight money forced interest rates up?

They couldn't get an answer at the legislative buildings; nobody was home. Bennett was down in San Francisco, ostensibly to open a new travel bureau but open-handedly assuring the Californians that he would have plenty of power to sell (which would be news to Ottawa, the only Canadians with authority to export), and in the same speech gratuitously suggesting that Mayor Christopher of San Francisco would make a fine Republican state governor.

The Premier's jauntiness was only surpassed by Ottawa's gloom. Howard Green said publicly at Kaslo that he considered the Columbia effectively scuttled. Fulton warned that "only public opinion" could compel Bennett to co-operate with Ottawa and thus honor the treaty solemnly entered into with Washington, and approved by British Columbia's team of negotiators.

But nobody can compel Bennett to co-operate. The Peace plan, after all, has been his since its inception. The Columbia is something he would have to share jointly with Ottawa.

Says CCF Opposition leader Robert Strachan: "The Premier did the right thing for the wrong reasons, and in the wrong manner."

"He took over the B.C.E. because of his hatred of the federal government, rather than to bring lower light bills to the consumer . . . and to ensure the development of his pet, the Peace River."

And what about those light bills, which are the prime interest of the householder? Will they come down?

"Don't expect any quick action," warned B.C.E. chairman Shrum.

"Time will tell," says Premier Bennett, smiling the smile of the tiger.



Wenner-Gren's proposed "wonderland".



B.C. Electric's twinkling diamond of a building dominates Vancouver's skyline, is known as "Grauer's Towers".

Power Play in the Rockies:

How Ottawa Can Cope With Bennett

by L. T. Higgins

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN Trench is a mysterious valley, about half a mile above the Pacific, which stretches for a thousand miles, deep in the Canadian Rockies. It is the cradle of what is probably the greatest concentration of potential hydro-electric power anywhere in the world. It sends forth the Fraser and the Columbia to the Pacific; it also begets the Peace which flows to the Arctic.

These are wild rivers. They reap their untamed harvest of energetic water for the most part in the few months of summer in the high cordillera when the snows are melting. Untamed, this truculent water claims its sacrifices at will, be they human or the works of men. Domesticated, the energy in this harvest represents almost incredible wealth.

It is perhaps no wonder then that the struggle to harness and control this power is a bitter, exciting, and dangerous one. The stakes are very high.

The Fraser belongs to the salmon for the present—until means can be found which will permit the economic co-existence of salmon and power, or until the need for power becomes overwhelming. This day, reckoned perhaps in decades, may not be too far distant, for it was only within the last few

years that Ontario suddenly found that its abundant power had all been used up—and future growth must be met by thermal plants burning imported coal.

The Columbia is an international river, flowing into the United States, past a cascade of eleven dams which include among their number some of the biggest in the world, such as Grand Coulee. For the Americans, the wealth of the Columbia lies tantalizingly close, just beyond their expectant fingertips.

A treaty to develop the Columbia with Canada's help was signed by a Republican President in his last days of office, and promptly ratified with near unanimity in record time by a Democratic Senate. If only the Canadians would ratify this Treaty, U.S. dreams about the Columbia would come true forever!

But Premier Bennett of British Columbia is a man of dreams too. His vision is one of thriving industry deep in the interior of British Columbia, much as Cecil Rhodes opened up the interior of Africa. He has already explored the territory, as much of Canada has traditionally been explored, by building a railway.

To a remarkable extent, the Peace has already opened up with oil, gas

and wheat. With the power from the Peace, development will be accelerated. But it will take time.

Just as a man has to kill the whole cow to get a hamburger, the Peace development is so large that he will have too much power at the beginning. Some of it might of course be shipped to Vancouver for sale, where it can compete with electricity produced from gas-fired turbines. But it will have difficulty in competing with power from the Columbia, which is closer.

Power from the Columbia is therefore a threat to development of the Peace. At the same time, the Peace is a threat to the development of the Columbia—as the Americans were not slow to realize. In this delicate situation, Bennett played his cards with superb political skill.

While the Columbia is an international river, and therefore the bargain with the Americans has to be made by Ottawa, so long as it is in Canada, it is Bennett's resource. Both sides have veto power unless Ottawa exercises its residual powers under the British North America Act to take over the Columbia to honor its international commitments.

The Ottawa veto has been exercised once — when Bennett made private

arrangements with Henry Kaiser. Just now, it looks rather as though Bennett may exercise his own veto.

If Bennett is to achieve his dream in his lifetime, the threat of Columbia power must be removed. This can be done in either of two ways. First, and preferably, to postpone the harnessing of the Columbia until after the Peace has been developed.

The value of early development of the Columbia to Canada depends to a very great degree upon the terms of agreement with the United States. The competitive chances of the Peace would therefore be improved by an adverse Columbia Treaty.

This may explain Bennett's insistence on allowing the U.S. to build Libby Dam instead of using the waters of the Kootenay entirely in Canada. The British Columbia Energy Board report was just able to show by these means that Peace Power was just as cheap as Columbia Power, if developed publicly (and by excluding flood control benefits received under the Columbia Treaty).

Second, if the Columbia *must* be developed, to develop the Peace simultaneously. To do so would create a serious glut in the market for power. Therefore the surplus power must be sold in other markets, such as the United States. Here again, however, Ottawa has the veto: no power may be exported without the consent of the federal government.

Bennett appears to be working towards a stalemate. Ottawa can develop the Columbia if it so wishes. But economics being what they are, even Ottawa-developed Columbia power must be sold somewhere.

And so on August 1, Bennett took over the British Columbia Electric Company, thus making himself the sole significant purchaser of electricity in British Columbia. Under these circumstances it seems highly doubtful if other smaller private utilities will express much interest in buying Columbia power from Ottawa.

The position in which this leaves Ottawa is distinctly unpleasant. The Columbia River Treaty, negotiated jointly and with strenuous liaison with British Columbia, clearly places Canada under a powerful moral, although not legal, obligation to the United States. The cornerstone of Ottawa policy throughout the Columbia controversy has been that Canada should be recompensed in power.

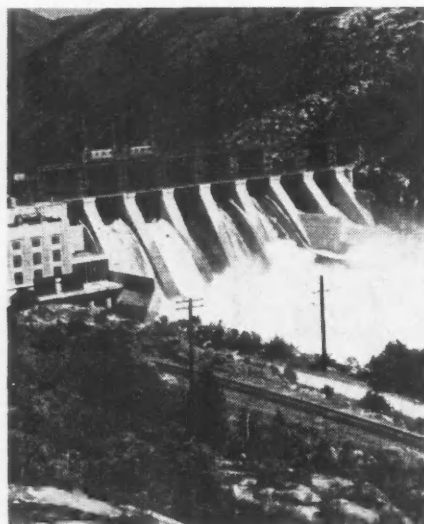
But if neither Bennett nor anyone else in British Columbia will buy this power, what is Ottawa to do with it? If it is sold in the United States, this will be indistinguishable from the export of electricity on a large scale—which has also been opposed by Ottawa

for many years.

If Ottawa decides to sell Canada's share of the downstream energy in the U.S., Bennett will undoubtedly be in a position to suggest that surplus Peace power should also be sold, since the policy would have apparently changed. On the other hand, strenuous objections can be expected from Washington if the Treaty is scrapped.

Ottawa's dilemma therefore is a real one — apparently. It rests upon two assumptions: that electric energy must not be exported in large amounts on a firm basis for long periods, and that the treaty is a good thing for Canada.

Historically, the argument against the export of power is a simple one: when we have wanted it back for use in Canada we have not been able to get it. The historical basis for this argu-



From wild rivers, a power surplus.

ment has largely disappeared with the development of large interconnected electric utilities. The argument today is simply a matter of the amount of power to be exported and the vested interests thus created.

The repatriation of reasonable amounts of power present no problems of repatriation where the power is sold to a neighboring utility. But the Columbia offers the Americans regulated flow, and there is no substitute for this — thus Canada must ensure its rights to repatriate the flow, if only to protect its future bargaining position.

The Columbia River Treaty as signed would prevent regulated flow from ever being repatriated to Canada. Canada's obligations under the Treaty continue forever, they are not terminable with the United States' obligations.

Therefore, Ottawa's dilemma is not nearly so intractable as it appears on the surface, particularly that portion resting upon the premise that the treaty is a good thing for Canada.

In recent weeks Canadian Cabinet

Ministers have publicly accused Bennett of bad faith and of trying to wreck the Columbia. There seems to be some substance in these charges since it was Bennett who insisted upon giving the key to the Columbia to the United States in the form of Libby Dam, and for that matter High Arrow. Moreover, the British Columbia Energy Board report certainly appears to have cast the Peace in a very favorable light and compared it to a Columbia very much in the shadows.

The big question before us now lies in how Ottawa will respond to Bennett's challenge, and to the undoubted pressure from a frustrated Washington.

The great danger is not so much that Ottawa will rebuff Bennett with understandable anger, but that the U.S. will be placated by a move which may give them permanent control of the Columbia.

In the absence of information on negotiations which may be going on at present, it seems likely that Ottawa will deny Bennett an export licence for Peace River power and will seek with Washington a modification of the Columbia River Treaty.

It is possible that the U.S. would settle for permission to build Libby Dam under the conditions incorporated in the Treaty. This would give them the key to the control of the Columbia. It would provide much-needed local flood control and some relief in the Portland Area.

At the same time, with a Democratic administration, collapse of the Columbia Treaty could conceivably break the Hell's Canyon deadlock, permitting the large Nez Percé Dam to be built on the Snake River in the United States. This would provide considerable flood control benefit and incidentally reduce the value of Canadian storage for flood control.

Such a move would be a catastrophe for Canada, in that control of the Columbia in Canada would pass irrevocably into U.S. hands.

Since the treaty was Bennett's treaty, a complete rebuff for Bennett lies in its abandonment. There are more economical alternatives such as might be provided by the construction of flexible flood control storage on the Kootenay in Canada, which could route flows either down the Kootenay or the Columbia at a quarter of the cost of Libby.

An agreement along these lines would protect Canada's legitimate rights and interests, and set the stage for the building of Mica Creek and full development of the Canadian Columbia for Canada. The U.S. stands to gain considerable benefits at an equitable cost.

EDUCATION S N SECTION

Closing the Technical Gap:

A Crash Program Gets Under Way

by J. W. Nuttall

THE NATION'S PRESENT unemployment crisis has focussed attention on the importance of technical and vocational education as never before.

That there are diminishing employment opportunities for the unskilled is a point so obvious it hardly needs repeating. Automation and advanced technology has already forced such a shift in employment opportunity that it is fair to say a good deal of our current unemployment is upon us simply because skilled manpower is not available in those fields where it is needed. Only about 30 per cent of the jobs available in this country are of a semi-skilled or unskilled nature, and if present trends continue—as they undoubtedly will—the plight of the unskilled worker will worsen.

The relationship between education and unemployment is striking. A study conducted early this year by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicated that the unemployment rate for persons who did not complete elementary school is more than twice the rate for those who did complete it, and six times the rate for people who finished secondary school.

In view of this one would think that today's youngsters—and their parents—would see the importance of staying in school. Apparently they do not. Across Canada, about one-third of our young people leave school before completing grade eight, and another third drop out before attaining junior matriculation. These two-thirds enter the

work world with a totally inadequate background, lacking the skills and knowledge necessary for continued employment and security.

These are some of the reasons why the nation is taking a long, hard look at technical and vocational education. Last December 20 the federal government provided the stimulus which apparently has managed to arouse the provinces to face the situation and take action. That was the date the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act was passed—Bill C-49.

C-49 involves both the long-range objective of ensuring that school-age youngsters are given adequate preparation for employment, and the short-range aim of retraining and upgrading persons already in the work force—both employed and unemployed.

Key features of the Bill are these:

- The federal government will contribute 75 per cent of provincial government capital expenditure for technical and vocational training facilities up to March 31, 1963, and 50 per cent thereafter.

- The federal government will contribute 50 per cent of the provincial governments' costs of operating technical, trade or occupational programs for persons who have left the regular school system. For the operational costs of programs at the secondary school level, a quota allotment remains in effect.

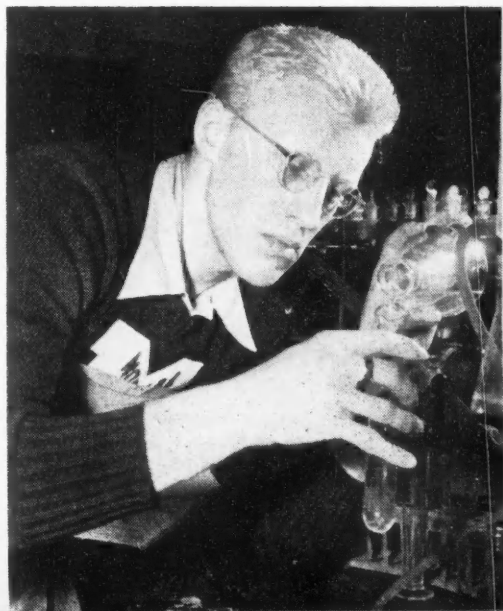
- A 50 per cent contribution will be made by the federal government to-

ward the cost of training teachers, supervisors and administrators who will carry out the developing programs.

- Increased encouragement at the federal level will be given research in the area of technical and vocational training—to look into examinations and standards, course content, and the changing needs of the economy for trained workers.

Among additional provisions, the Bill carries forward existing agreements for federal contributions of 75 per cent of the costs involved in providing training programs for the unemployed.

Federal assistance and encouragement for technical and vocational education has been available for some time, but until this year the provinces have not taken full advantage. The apparent reason for this lack of initiative



Need for an expanding program of technical and vocational education has been brought into focus by recurring unemployment crises.

was simply a lack of appreciation—by labor, by industry, by government, and by educators themselves—of the importance of this kind of training. Bill C-49, with its two-year deadline for increased aid, has provided the provinces with the needed incentive to get cracking. And get cracking they have!

To date, Ontario leads the way with an \$80 million construction program for new trade and technical schools, announced May 31. It is expected that within 18 months new facilities will be available for 50,000 pupils. Along with the construction program, new trade, technical and commercial courses will be introduced, and existing courses will be revised, updated and improved.

Ontario's ambitious plans apply in three areas—trade schools, technological institutes, and technical and vocational training at the secondary school level. A \$12 million assault will be made on trade schools alone, with new ones to be established at London (\$3 million), Ottawa (\$3 million), and Sault Ste. Marie (\$2 million).

The Provincial Institute of Trades at Toronto, the province's only existing trade school, will also undergo a \$4 million expansion. With the completion of these projects, classrooms and shop teaching facilities for apprentices will be substantially increased.

An expansion program at Windsor's Western Ontario Institute of Technology has just been completed, and a larger project is planned for the Ryerson Institute of Technology at Toronto, at a cost of \$6 million. In addition, new \$2 million facilities to house the Eastern Ontario Institute of Technology at Ottawa will be constructed. A brand new institute is also planned, but the location is at this point undecided.

But the greatest bulk of the money to be spent will be at the secondary school level—an estimated \$60 million will be aimed at the establishment

or enlargement of technical and vocational training facilities in the province's high schools. Initiative in this phase of the program lies largely with the local Boards of Education, and indications are that they have taken up the challenge admirably.

Within two months about 115 Boards made application to the Department of Education—mostly for additions to schools currently offering technical courses or for new facilities at schools that have previously had commercial but not technical courses. A few totally new schools will, however, be constructed, such as those planned for Port Arthur and Saltfleet, near Hamilton.

Within the secondary school program, attempts will be made to adjust technical and vocational courses so that graduates can fit even more directly into employment. Also, the development of pre-apprenticeship courses is envisioned at this level.

Though Ontario's extensive crash program is the biggest to be launched so far, every province in the land is planning to take advantage of C-49. Indications are that Quebec, not a party to former agreements, is planning a major expansion in its trade school and technical institute program.

Even now Quebec is probably more advanced—especially at the post-secondary level—in providing training facilities than any other province, and speculation has it that expansion plans might even surpass Ontario's.

Here is what is happening in the West:

British Columbia plans a major expansion at its trade school in Burnaby, and will build one or two similar schools in the interior. An extensive technical training program will also be undertaken.

A major enlargement of the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology at

Calgary, and the establishment of a similar institute at Edmonton, constitutes the major part of the work to be done in Alberta.

The Saskatchewan Technical Institute at Moose Jaw has just undergone a huge expansion. The province is also discussing a new trade school at Saskatoon and an expansion in its vocational and technical high school program.

In Manitoba the major effort will be centered on building the Manitoba Institute of Technology at Winnipeg. To cost about \$3.5 million with facilities for 2,000 students, the new Institute will be combined with the existing provincial trades school, thus offering a full range of trade and technical training at one centre.

The Maritimes, too, are moving at full steam. New Brunswick is now building a provincial trade and technical institute at Moncton, and has tentative plans for four others.

Nova Scotia is to go ahead with a new trade and technical institute at Halifax and a new vocational high school at Sydney. Consideration is also being given to one or two more trade schools in different areas.

In Prince Edward Island a program of building composite high schools is planned. Trade school facilities will also be enlarged, but at this point the province is undecided whether to expand the existing school at Charlottetown or to build a new one.

A new College of Trades and Technology is now under construction at St. John's, Newfoundland, at a cost of about \$5 million. Plans are also under way for additional trade schools in other parts of the province.

From this rundown it is quite evident that energetic activity abounds all the way from British Columbia to Newfoundland. But, of course, mere quantity is not enough—quality will be the determining factor in the success of Bill C-49: quality of courses, quality of teachers, and quality of administrators.

The promise of a stepped-up research program is encouraging, and it is to be hoped that these good intentions are carried out to the full. In particular, there is a great need for exhaustive, detailed information regarding the present and future requirements of the labor market. The problem of curriculum should be examined closely to ensure that students are being given the right kind of training as required by the changed needs of industry.

There is a mighty problem—and one that conceivably could kill the whole nationwide project—in getting top men to teach and administer the expanded programs at all levels. Shortly after

Technical and Vocational Facilities

Composite High School—A secondary school that offers general academic courses, as well as vocational courses in the fields of industry, commerce, agriculture, art and homemaking.

Technical and Vocational High School—A secondary school that is vocational in objective, and which emphasizes technical subject matter to prepare students for advanced studies in technological fields. It also offers courses which are geared to preparing students for one or more skilled or semi-skilled trades or simi-

lar occupations.

Trade School—A vocational school that concentrates on training students in the manipulative skills, technical knowledge, and related information necessary for direct entry into one or more skilled trades or occupations.

Institute of Technology—An institution that offers training programs at the post-secondary school level. Courses are technological in character, emphasizing the understanding and application of scientific principles rather than manual skills.

Ontario's plans were announced, fears were expressed that the existing shortage of technical and vocational teachers would become acute when the enlarged facilities were completed.

Undaunted, officials at the Department of Education sent a letter to high school principals asking them to scout around for skilled men who might have the necessary requirements and aptitudes for teaching. For people stepping out of industry to take up a teaching career, the province offered to pay full tuition fees for the one-year course at the Ontario College of Education, and a subsistence allowance of \$30 a week. Considering the wage rates of some of these persons, prospects of attracting them back to school could hardly have looked good.

But, surprisingly enough, about 250

have enrolled at OCE under the plan this September. And all of them are said to be of top calibre. Many of them will have to take pay cuts, but the promise of greater security, among other attractions, has counteracted this factor. No serious shortage of teachers is now expected in Ontario, but it remains to be seen how the other provinces will fare.

Another point of concern, perhaps even more serious, is the problem of getting top men to head the expanded programs—men that have the qualities of a good teacher, plus the background and experience required of a good administrator.

In view of the present situation Bill C-49 was passed in the nick of time and though the short-range plans for retraining and upgrading persons al-

ready in the labor force may receive the greatest attention at first, the real effects of the Bill will be felt in the long-range objective—that of alleviating future unemployment by giving youngsters adequate training before they ever set out to look for work.

To be sure, C-49 cannot do the job alone. More than anything else, the support of every parent—indeed, every Canadian—is needed to bring about a change in attitude towards technical and vocational education. A Department of Labor official at Ottawa who is working closely with the development of the Bill told me that all this money could go down the drain if we fail to realize the importance of such training.

It appears that we are awakening to our responsibility.

Industrial Training:

EDUCATION S N SECTION

What Canada Can Learn from Germany

by Ernest Waengler

ALL COUNTRIES now plagued by unemployment are simultaneously suffering from a shortage of help in highly skilled trades and professions.

And the countries which have been most successful in achieving full employment are those with the most highly developed systems of industrial training.

For the first group, Canada is a case in point.

Last winter, when one out of every nine Canadians of working age was listed as "unemployed and seeking work", thousands of job openings remained unfilled because nobody could be found with the necessary qualifications. This situation, according to employment experts, is likely to get worse.

With another winter of relatively high unemployment approaching, 21 per cent of Canadian employers of professional personnel have recently told the Labor Department in Ottawa that they expect increasingly severe recruiting difficulties during the next 12 months.

Things would be still worse if the

Canadian skilled labor market had not for years been supplied by immigration.

A Labor Department survey taken five years ago showed that 35 per cent of all tool and die makers, sheet metal workers, draughtsmen, electronic engineers and floor moulders employed in Canada were immigrants. The figure may be considerably higher now.

A more recent survey compares the extent of apprenticeship training completion among immigrant and native Canadian tradesmen. The result is heavily in favor of the immigrants:

Percentage of Training Completion

	Canadian	Immigrant
Tool and Die Makers	48%	75%
Sheet Metal Workers	12%	83%
Floor Moulders	58%	89%
Draughtsmen	5%	46%
Electronic Technicians	0%	26%

The explanation is that Canada lacks the facilities for universal training of skilled workers and technicians and that such training is not compulsory.

Furthermore, the high rate of expansion and prosperity in the forties and fifties made it possible for a high percentage of Canadian youngsters to get well paid jobs that required little or no skill.

These teenagers, who entered the labor force without having completed their schooling or job training, are today's unskilled adults who make up the great bulk of the unemployed.

Immigration cannot be relied upon to keep supplying Canadian industry with the skilled personnel needed for continued expansion. The three countries from which the largest number of immigrants came to Canada in recent years — Great Britain, Italy and West Germany — have recruiting problems of their own and are offering their highly skilled workers sufficient incentives to make emigration to Canada a dubious course of action.

In Great Britain, industrial training consists mainly in standing a boy next to an adult craftsman for a period of time on the assumption that the trainee will pick up his skills by watching. The



To bolster her labor reserve Germany has the most complete vocational training system among major industrial nations.

system, known as "sitting next to Nellie", has recently come under sharp attack from the press and industrial organizations and has resulted in a serious shortage of highly trained specialists at the very moment when industrial efficiency in Britain is about to be put to its most critical test.

In a very short time, the United Kingdom will associate itself in one form or another with the European Economic Community where it will have to compete on equal terms with countries that have a lower wage level, better labor relations and, above all, a highly developed system of industrial training.

Italy still has the largest number of unemployed in Europe while the shortage of skilled industrial personnel has reached a critical stage. With the highest rate of industrial expansion among major European countries, the Italian Government is now making strong efforts to keep the skilled at home.

Germany, the third major source of immigration to Canada, has run out of labor reserves. Unemployment has for some time been less than one per cent of the work force and for each unemployed there are currently six unfilled jobs. It is no coincidence that Germany has also the most complete system of vocational training among major industrial nations.

The system is the direct descendant of the method of training craftsmen which was evolved by the guilds in the Middle Ages. It is still divided into three stages: apprentice, journeyman and master. It still consists of a set of rigidly prescribed courses and on-the-job training periods, culminating in a formal examination which is the prerequisite for entering the next stage.

The first, or apprenticeship, stage is compulsory. Both the employer and apprentice-employee are liable to fines if the proper schooling or training is not provided or taken.

One million German youngsters are currently enrolled in industrial or commercial training programs, excluding those classified as "craftsmen-apprentices". More than 6,000 are being trained by one single firm, nearly 1,000 in one plant.

In keeping with the German system of decentralization of education, vocational training is not a concern of the Federal Government but of the Laender (provinces). But the Laender Governments merely exercise a supervisory function and assist in the placement of trainees. Industry itself is charged with the task of providing the instructors, facilities and examination procedure.

In each one of the Laender, all industrial and commercial firms are organized into Chambers of Industry and Trade, autonomous bodies supported entirely by membership fees and with functions similar to those of the Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in this country, except that membership is compulsory and decisions enforceable by legal action.

The Chamber of Industry and Trade sets the training standards for each job category, provides career counselling service to youngsters still in school, certifies training programs set up by individual companies, channels apprenticeship applicants to the firms best able to train them for their chosen jobs, registers all trainees in the "Apprenticeship Roll" and issues diplomas upon completion of each examination.

Upon leaving secondary school at the age of sixteen, youngsters may choose between some 600 "recognized" skills in industry and commerce, ranging from miner to travel agent and from waiter to welder. Apprenticeship ranges from three to three-and-a-half years and is based on a 48-hour week, not including time for home study. Forty hours are spent in the workshop or office, eight hours at a vocational school where the

theoretic subjects are designed to match the apprentice's progress in the workshop. As the plant teaches the "how", the school supplies the "why".

The firm which "employs" the apprentice pays a nominal salary, usually starting at \$20 per month in the first year and up to about \$35 in the last stage when the trainee is expected to make some contribution to production. There is no tuition fee for the vocational school.

The great majority of apprentices live at home. Where there are no recognized training facilities in their job category near their families' residences, they are often taken in as boarders at the home of a worker in the same plant. In some centres there are also "Apprentice Homes", run by churches, private organizations or the firms themselves, where apprentices live and study together.

The cost of staying in such a home is usually \$45 a month. Since this is more than the apprentice earns, it is paid by his family or, if the family can prove inability, by public welfare.

Most large firms provide special "apprentice workshops" with full-time instructors. The firms receive no compen-



One-third of trainees' working times is devoted to instruction in mathematical and engineering subjects.

sation for this costly service. They provide it in the expectation that the majority of those who graduate as skilled journeymen will remain with the company as regular employees, but the trainees are under no obligation to do so. In fact, the apprenticeship relation may be terminated at any time by the firm or the trainee.

In either case, a reason must be given to the supervising authorities and the apprentice is subsequently transferred to another company. The success of the system is illustrated by the fact that such transfers are extremely rare, except in cases where apprentices change their minds about their chosen career and ask to be transferred to a training program for a different job category.

At the end of the apprenticeship period and upon completion of the prescribed practical tests and theoretical examinations, the graduate receives a document known as the "Journeyman's Patent" which entitles him to union membership, the minimum wage for skilled workmen in his job category and, if his employer considers him to be of sufficient ability, to participation in "masters' courses" which eventually, often after a period of eight to ten years, may lead to his acceptance as a master.

However, he does not become a master automatically upon completion of the necessary course and examinations but only by appointment which is based on the industry's requirements as well as on the candidate's general ability and character.

The system works a little differently for those who start their apprenticeship after having taken their *Abiture*, the German equivalent of Senior Matric. These graduates, who begin apprenticeship at 18 or 19, also spend three years in a workshop or office but do not attend regular school classes on the side.

Instead, one-third of their working time is taken up by seminars where

those who train for a technical career get instruction in mathematical and engineering subjects and those who go in for commercial training in law and economics. At the end of their apprenticeship period, some of the high-school graduates go on to a university, often on scholarships provided by the companies which gave them their apprenticeship and which hope to get them back later for executive training.

In many large German firms, all or most of the top executives are former apprentices of the same company who took their university degrees under such a scheme.

In some cases, apprenticeship is taken after graduation from a university. For such graduates, the period is shortened to two years. Theoretical instruction is reduced to a minimum or eliminated altogether. However, complete examinations must still be taken at the end of the apprenticeship.

Girls apprenticed for office work go through a two-year apprenticeship, consisting of junior work in various departments with simultaneous compulsory courses in shorthand, typing, book-keeping, business correspondence and related subjects.

Every apprentice must keep a diary in a strictly prescribed form in which he or she enters the tasks performed and subjects studied from day to day. Every week, the diary is checked and initialed by the instructor at the place of work and the teacher in vocational school.

At the end of each year, the examiners look over the diary and base their questions on the progress indicated. The firm which has taken on the apprentice is responsible for the completeness of these reports.

The great advantage of the German system is its flexibility. It trains the hairdresser as thoroughly as the electronic engineer and fits the needs of the future salesgirl as well as those of the future boiler maker.

It gives young people pride in their chosen trade, the incentive of continuous competition with fellow apprentices, the daily example of mature, highly skilled technicians and the security of being part of a productive team while still learning. It enables instructors to mark the gifted while they are still in their teens and to recommend them for key positions in confidential reports to management.

The companies which have taken on the responsibility of training the future labor force range from the small workshop which can only handle one or two apprentices and which designates one of its half-dozen regular employees to keep an eye on him, to the large concern with special departments to organize and supervise apprenticeship



No more "sitting next to Nellie".

programs and a staff of full-time instructors in the various practical and theoretical aspects.

And all, from the corner service station to the giant Volkswagen Works, are continuously checked by Chambers of Industry and Trade as well as by government authorities to make sure that each apprentice gets the full measure of training and instruction prescribed for his particular job category.

While it is quite customary in smaller firms for the apprentice to sweep the floor or fetch coffee for the boss, he is always protected against merely being used as cheap labor. If a company fails to provide adequate training to its apprentices, its "apprenticeship certification" is immediately withdrawn.

In Germany, where labor reserves have become exhausted beyond the point that is usually considered the irreducible minimum, future industrial expansion must depend on the degree to which the available labor force becomes more productive through increased skill. To this end, the existing system of industrial training, highly developed as it is, is still being expanded and perfected in close co-operation between government and industry.

In Canada, where large-scale unemployment is at least partially the result of the inadequate industrial training, the problem is even more urgent.

In a relatively small domestic market, Canadian industry must compete with finished goods that are mass-produced in countries with vastly larger production programs. In Canada's export



markets, this competition becomes even fiercer.

To get into this kind of competitive manufacturing, Canada will need an ever-increasing number of highly skilled and broadly trained workers and technicians.

It will be some time before facilities can be created to give young people leaving school the kind of industrial training that has long been a matter of course in some of the countries which

are our competitors. It will take even longer to create a tradition of apprenticeship that will make youngsters accept years of hard, unpaid work in preparation for the status of a skilled worker.

The economies of the Western world are about to move much closer together than they have ever been. In the wake of the great success of the European Economic Community, the countries outside it are preparing to become

members. Through its membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Canada is committed to moving closer to the European bloc.

The extent to which we learn to utilize our great natural resources — of which manpower is the greatest — will determine whether we are to be one of the distressed areas of the Free World or indeed one of its most progressive, most prosperous members.

Salvaging the Rejects:

EDUCATION S N SECTION

Why We Need More Junior Colleges

by A. M. Ross

CANADIANS NEED a Junior College in many of their large cities and towns. They need these colleges so that thousands of their high school graduates can render more effective service to Canadian communities. The need is urgent.

Who are these thousands from our high schools? Of the 26,638 candidates who wrote the Grade XIII examination in Ontario last year only 4,618

passed with sufficient credits to enter Canadian universities, which invariably stipulate that students applying for admission must have an average of at least 60 per cent in nine Grade XIII papers.

Nor is such screening by universities drastic. In 1960, for instance, nearly 500 students failed in their first year at the University of Toronto. At other Canadian universities a freshman fail-

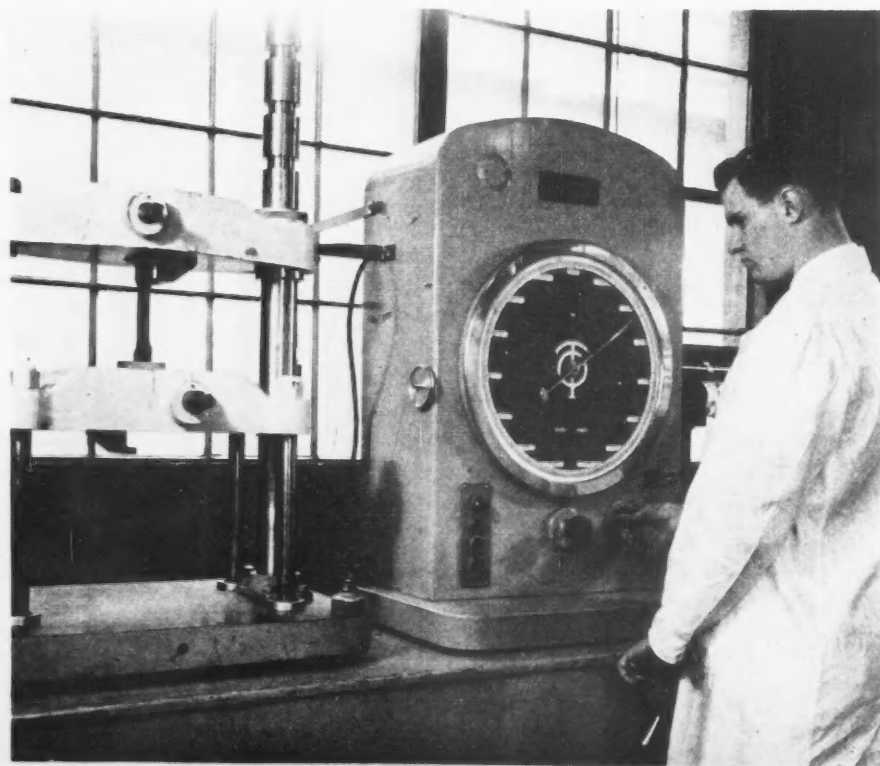
ure rate of 25 per cent is not at all unusual. On this basis about 1,000 of our original 4,618 students will have been thinned out as a result of the final freshman examinations this past spring.

Think, then, of these high school graduates who, although they may have wished to attend university, are branded as failures. How many are there? The number of students who passed in seven or in eight Grade XIII papers in June 1960 amounted to 3,632. Add to this figure the 798 candidates who wrote nine papers and obtained an average of at least 50 per cent but less than 60 per cent.

It is surely impossible to accept the notion that these 4,430 Ontario students have gone as far academically as we can afford to send them. They should not have to think that a polite note of refusal from a busy college registrar marks the official end of their schooling.

It is my contention that among these culls, these failures, are many fine young people worth salvaging, worth a second chance at education. And the problem is not peculiar to Ontario; universities across Canada have much the same standards for entrance.

What has Canadian education to offer our high school culls? What has even a prosperous province like Ontario to offer them in the way of further education? If we except Ryerson Institute of Technology in Toronto,



Technical training should be available to our high-school graduates.

answer is very little indeed.

For some students there are trade classes in vocational schools; for others, classes in business colleges. But very few of these outlets really require the background in mathematics, science, and languages which a secondary school graduate—even a mediocre one—possesses.

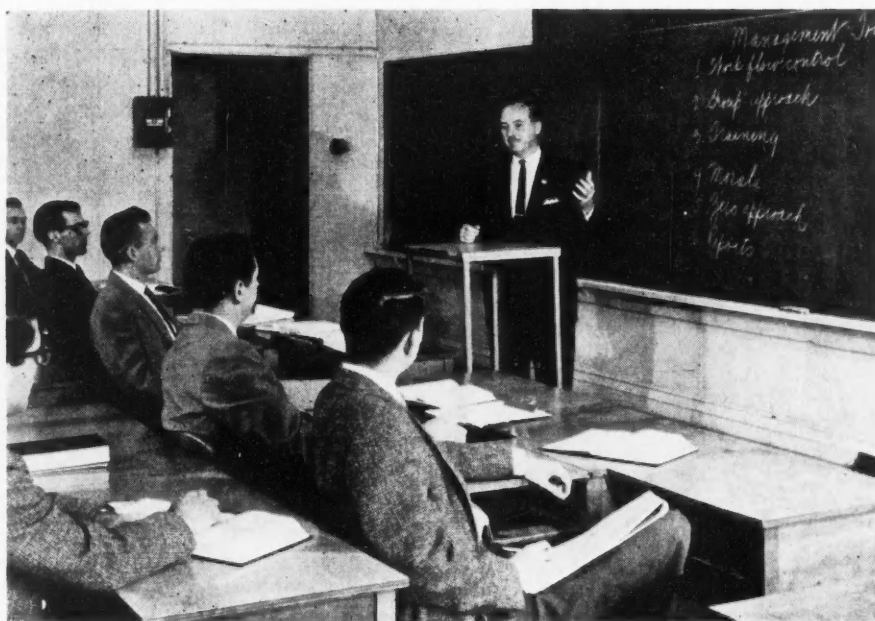
With very few exceptions—a notable one is journalism—Ontario Grade XII is enough for admission to Ryerson. The student can, of course, go to work, but Canada needs no addition to her unskilled labor force. Such a student has had far too much training for us not to take the greatest possible advantage of it.

The recent decision of the Ontario government to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for expanding technical

student who lacks the money for a university education could develop his powers more fully; and the student who simply lacks ability could finally have his deficiencies made clear.

If such provision were made for our culls, Canada would gain much by having better trained men and women to fill positions in our public schools, banks, and science laboratories, in the Civil Service, in public libraries, and in senior secretarial work. Finally our universities would be spared the problem of screening these borderline students, and could profit by receiving the best of them within their walls after they had had a profitable two years beyond high school.

Such further training would, at that, not be blazing any pioneer trail in education. In fact, we lag far behind



Ontario is spending lavishly to expand facilities for technical training.

education in the Province could help our deserving but frustrated Grade XIII graduates, provided the educational offerings are advanced enough and varied enough. But if the new schools are to be primarily for training trades and technical personnel, there may not be much to interest our particular group.

Surely a student who is capable of passing seven, or eight, or nine Grade XIII papers with an average of 50 per cent should be encouraged, if he wishes, to pursue further education for two years at least in basic subjects such as science, mathematics, English, and history, or in advanced technical studies.

Given such an opportunity, the student who is late in developing his powers could have a chance to prove his abilities; the student who has had poor instruction in high school could clarify his muddled thinking; the

countries such as Britain and the United States in providing such facilities for youngsters denied the privilege of a university education.

In Britain, perhaps the most significant schools for such further education are the technical colleges. These provide not only courses in the trades but also courses in science, engineering, and arts — all leading eventually to diplomas and even degrees that are recognized nationally and internationally.

In 1958-59 about 600 technical colleges in Britain ministered to more than two million students including 1,783,214 evening students, 492,854 part-time day students, and 114,065 full-time students. These colleges are very much a part of the area in which they are placed, and, without exception, enjoy the favor of industry.

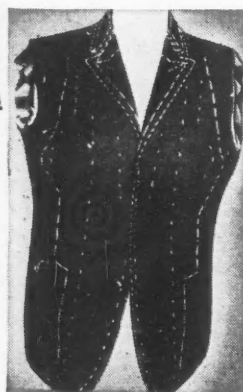
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serving the development in the United States of a system of junior colleges to which one student out of every four today goes, as part of his preparation for life and higher education. A recent count revealed 663 of these two-year junior colleges in the U.S. One estimate is that by 1975 at least 50 per cent of all U.S. students between 18 and 21 years of age will be going to a junior college.

The Americans think that this feature of their education is very desirable on the grounds that it is less expensive for students, that it bridges the gap between high school and university, that it gives the students and the universities an opportunity to evaluate each other. It also gives the "transfer student" the equivalent of two years at a liberal arts college, or a sound background for professional schooling such as medicine, dentistry, law, and teaching. Finally it offers further education to those who either cannot afford to go to university or lack the necessary intelligence.

From time to time in Canada we have thought of establishing junior colleges, but for the most part we have sneered at U.S. patterns of education. Nevertheless a few institutions resembling the junior college have appeared in our country.

The nearest parallel is probably the Lakehead College of Arts, Science & Technology, which, since its beginning in 1948, has justified its existence so completely that it is now housed in a new building on a spacious campus and supported not only by industries in northwestern Ontario but also by the twin cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, and by the provincial and federal governments.

The College offers the first year of Applied Science, Commerce, Forestry, Forest Engineering, Household Science, and Pharmacy at university level, plus courses in Forestry, Mining, Chemistry and Engineering technology. In addition the College offers the first two years of Arts past Grade XIII.

Over 500 students from northwestern Ontario have proceeded from the Lakehead College to complete their courses at Canadian universities. This summer 115 teachers registered for the five summer courses offered. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this College to the educational welfare of the Lakehead.

Of great significance, too, is the establishment of a Teachers' College adjoining the Lakehead College property. Already consideration is being given as to how these two institutions can strengthen each other.

Any closing of the schism which

exists between professional educators and university personnel is most desirable, and the Lakehead has the opportunity to demonstrate a close working relation of these two colleges. And this, too, at a time when Dr. S. W. Steinson, Principal of the Saskatoon Teachers' College, has just pointed out to the Canadian Teachers' Federation that "the universities have not given strong leadership in working out effective programs in teacher education".

Dr. Steinson wants better educated teachers. So should all Canadians. We should be doing everything possible to interest our high school students in the importance of public school teaching, and then making every effort to see to it that further education is necessary for these teachers if they wish to reach the highest salary brackets.

Placing a junior college alongside a Teachers' College, as at the Lakehead, is one way to facilitate such education. Perhaps even better is to combine the two institutions in one, and give our future teacher the academic background which he lacks at the same time as he masters his teaching skills.

Such a college as Lakehead, if multiplied across Canada, provides a sensible approach to the shocking wastage which is now so apparent after Grade XIII. Without the cost of attending university for a year, and possibly failing, students at the Lakehead have an opportunity to test themselves in a college environment before moving on to the university of their choice.

In some respects the newly created University of Waterloo has shown great interest in meeting some of the educational needs of adults barred from university. Its lively adult education program, pushed along by the energy of Dr. G. E. Reaman, has enabled many men to take the non-credit pre-Management Course, which leads in turn to the Canadian Industrial Management Association Course, or to the Registered Industrial Accountants Course.

This year Waterloo is starting an Executive Development Course. In fact, the University will accommodate any adult group of sufficient size that wants a significant course of study.

The courses have ranged all the way from one on the preparation of concrete to real estate, investments, and journalism. This year, too, the University of Waterloo is offering in the evenings five courses for credit at the university level.

All these educational activities do not, of course, meet the Grade XIII emergency head on. They merely indicate the beginning of a great task in adult education which lies ahead of us in Canada.



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Luftwaffe trainees observed by members of Queen's Own Rifles signify German equality in Western alliance.

German Election Preview:

Berlin Upsets the Political Applecart

by John Gellner

THE BOSSES OF the German political party organizations will remember June 11 as the day when the best-laid plans of men and mice went awry — in their case, the plans of how to fight the general election which is due on September 17. On that Sunday, the official East German press service ADN published the text of the memorandum on Berlin and Germany which Khrushchov had handed to President Kennedy at their meeting in Vienna on the previous week-end.

The memorandum revealed that a serious and immediate external threat existed, one which, strange as this may sound, had not been realized and thus was not taken into calculation when strategy and tactics for the elections were determined at the congresses of the major parties earlier in the Spring. Four days later, Khrushchov's speech made it crystal-clear that this was indeed a major storm. Further abundant confirmation that, barring a miracle, there would be a show-down this time, has since been provided by Moscow and by Pankow (the seat of the government of the satellite (East) German Democratic Republic, the DDR).

All this has completely changed the aspect of the forthcoming elections, because a key issue has been created which has completely diverted the attention of the voters from the platforms upon which the parties originally wanted to fight it out. The 1961 election was

to have been a departure from the three previously held in the Federal Republic in that it was meant to be a reckoning between the parties over domestic issues ("innerpolitische Auseinandersetzung der Parteien").

This, for different reasons, suited all three major parties: Adenauer's Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU), Willy Brandt's Socialists (SPD), and Erich Mende's Free Democrats (FDP).

The leaders of the CDU/CSU clearly felt that they had an unassailable record at home, but, at best, only an adequate one in the foreign policy field. The gaining of equality for Germany and its inclusion in the Western Alliance, and the cementing of Western European unity through common economic institutions are undoubtedly achievements for which the party-in-power can rightly take full credit, but they do not outweigh the failure to achieve Germany's prime foreign policy goal, re-unification.

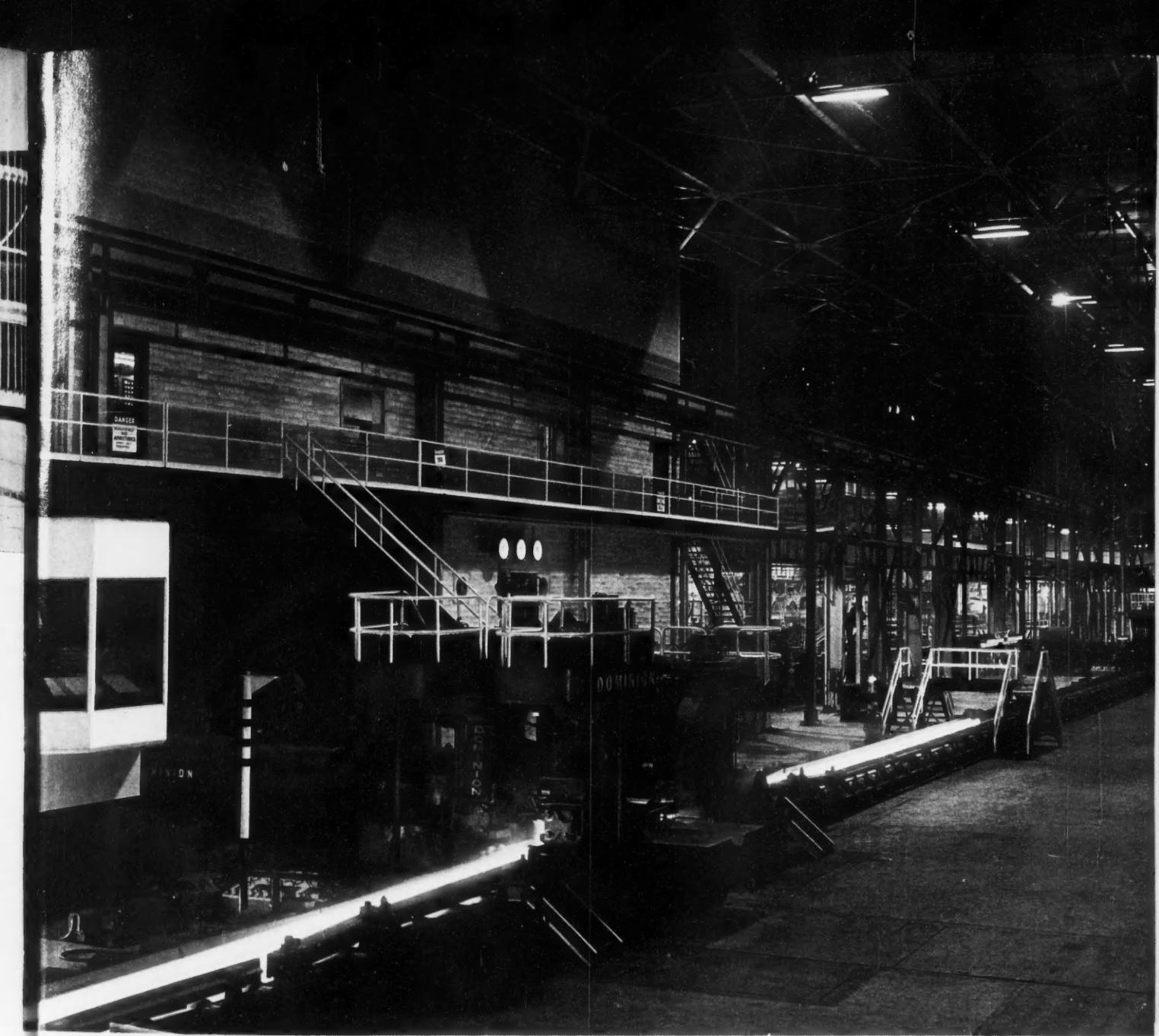
Moreover, Adenauer cannot say that this so far was an unattainable goal, not even that it was one which could only have been reached at a price which no reasonable German would have been willing to pay. For as late as the Spring of 1955 re-unification could possibly have been had in return for the continued de-militarization and the neutralization of Germany. Today, one can only speculate on whether or not a German variant of the "Austrian solution" would have been workable (or

rather, whether or not the Russians would have allowed it to work), but if it had been, Germany would now be unified and still would share in the economic and social rise of Western Europe.

It is true that what could, or should, have been done six or seven years ago is not now an important issue in German politics. Still, the CDU/CSU must have been quite content to base its appeal to the voters on the "economic miracle" wrought in the years when it has been in office.

Its main proposition was that it would be foolish to make changes in a winning crew. This was expressed in the CDU/CSU election slogans, "*Nichts aufs Spiel setzen*" (let's not gamble), "*Was wir haben, wissen wir*" (we know what we have), and, significantly, if one considers the known differences between Chancellor Adenauer and his Vice-Chancellor, "Adenauer, Erhard and the Team".

Having thrown overboard practically all that constitutes the customary socialist party programs, the SPD found itself without a bludgeon with which to belabor Adenauer over matters of foreign policy. The clearing of the decks of all the old top-load went so far that even the fairly popular, half-doctrinaire, half-emotional appeals were abandoned. In the SPD, it used to be, "No nuclear arms, no conscription, no membership in NATO"; then, "No nuclear arms and

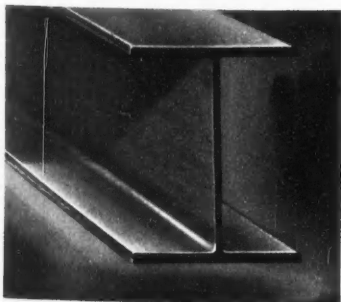


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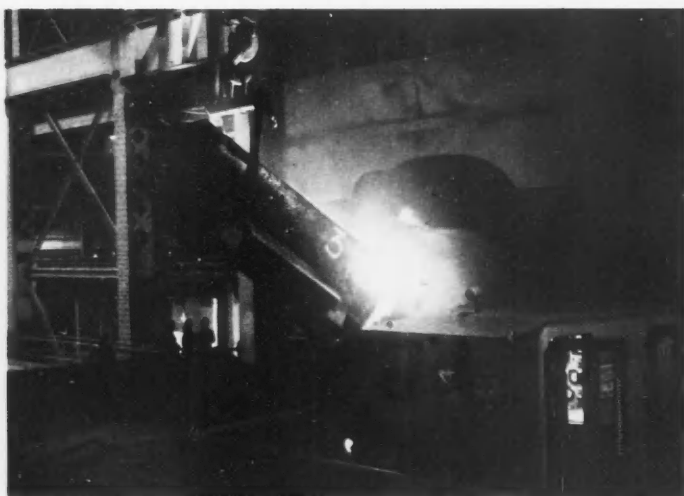
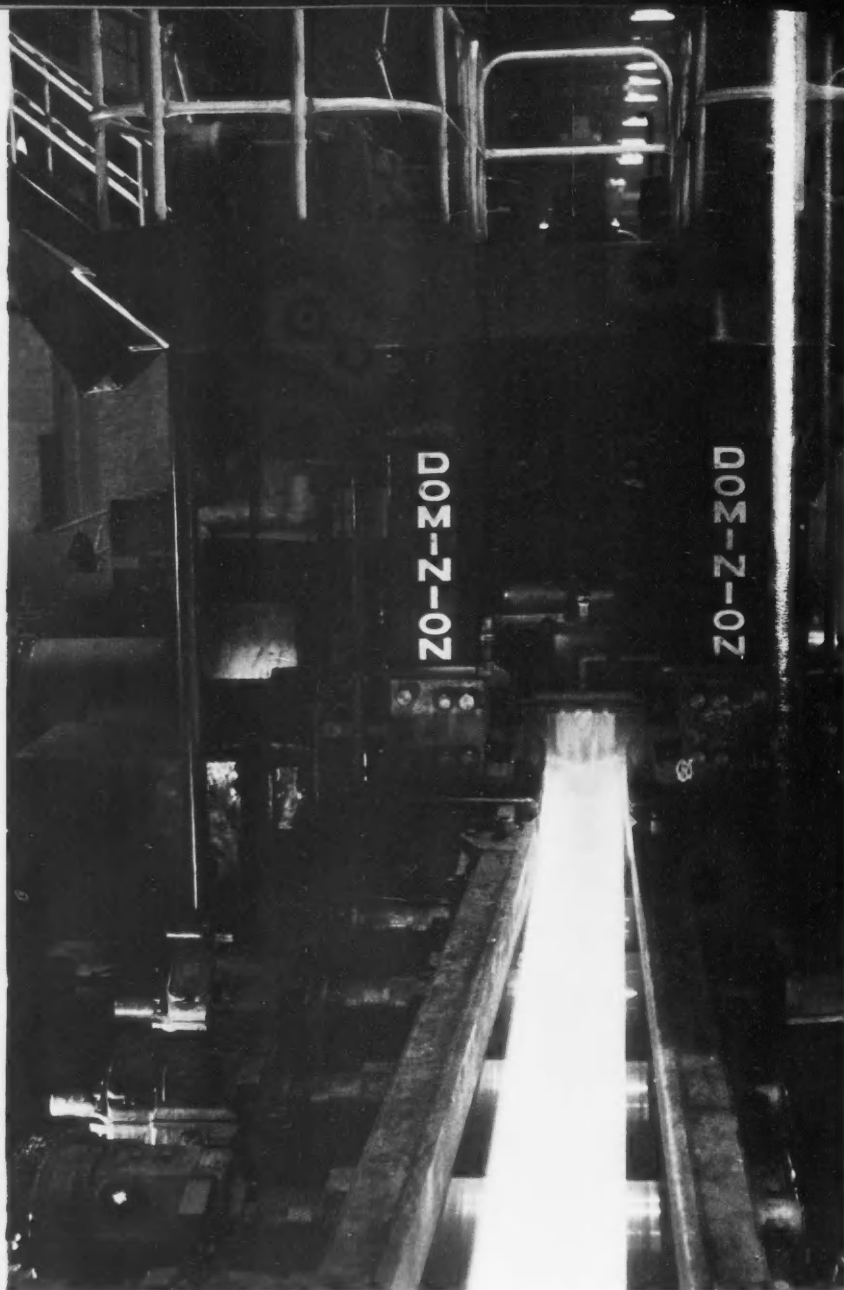
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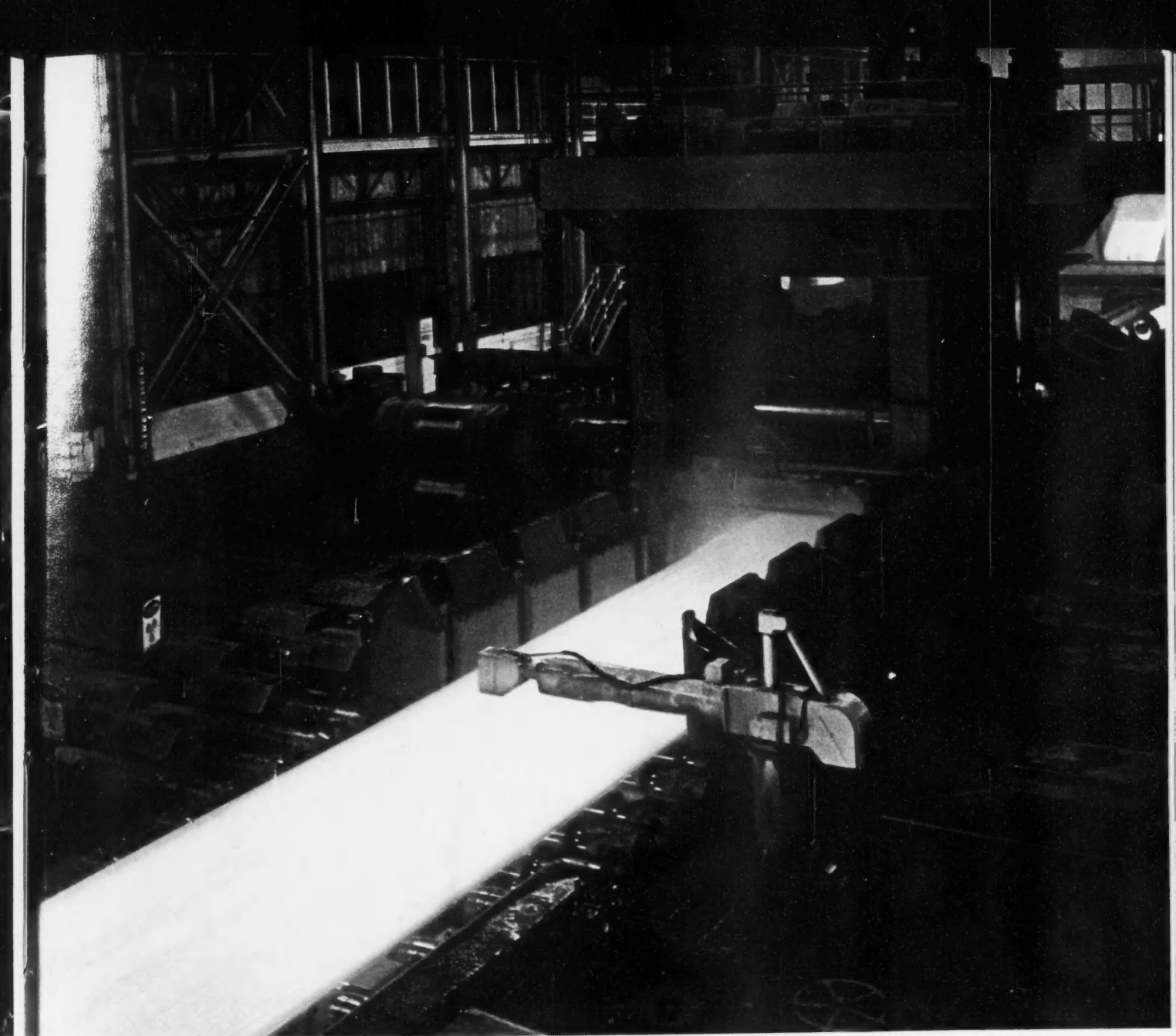
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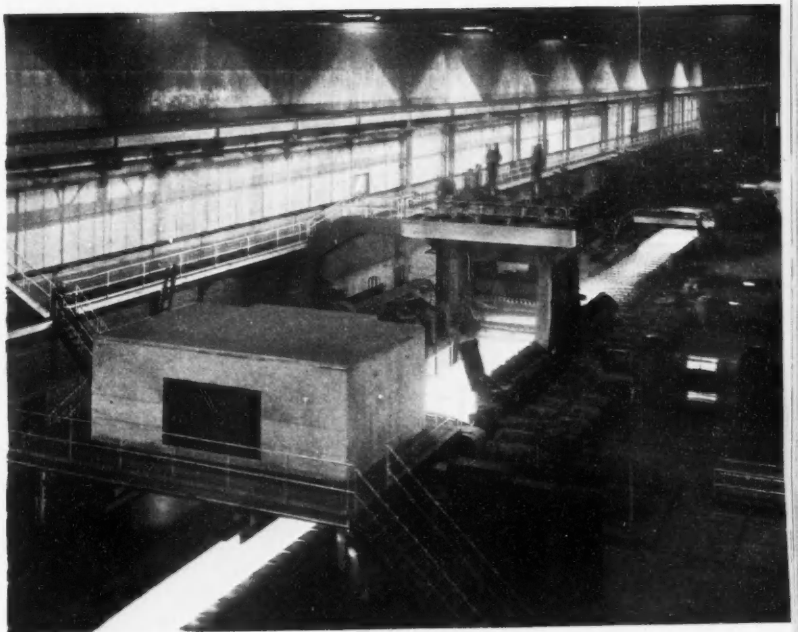


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no conscription".

Now even these two demands have been dropped, as far as nuclear arms are concerned admittedly with some saving provisos. The party's approval of the NATO alliance makes it virtually impossible to criticize now the choice which Adenauer made in 1955. In fact, the Socialists are trying to prove to the voters that Willy Brandt would be just as acceptable to Germany's treaty partners, and above all to the Americans, as is Adenauer. This again precludes any serious criticism of the latter's foreign policy.

On the domestic scene, on the other hand, conditions seemed to be favorable for exploiting the uneasiness, the worries, and the discontent of part of the population, states of mind which have always been present, and quite noticeably so, even amid the present boom. Thus the Socialist party slogan, "Prosperity is here for all to have", a subtle variation of the CDU/CSU's, "Prosperity for all", aims at those who believe that they are not getting their fair share of the benefits of the boom.

And the suggestion that the current high standard of living may be more likely to be maintained in less prosperous times if a socialist government were then in power (even one barely pink as would be Brandt's) than a regime wedded to private enterprise, sounds plausible to a good many Germans. By all counts, fighting the election on domestic issues must have looked the best strategy to the new leadership of the SPD.

The Free Democrats, theoretically Germany's Liberals but really its party of the Right, have, by and large, supported Adenauer's foreign policy in the past, and they approve of it now with only minor reservations. In fact, they really have no objections to the CDU/CSU's domestic policy either, which in these last years has in any case been largely determined by the conservative



West Berlin's Willy Brandt.

wing of the Christian Democrats.

Broadly speaking, the Free Democrats see themselves as "a bourgeois alternative to the CDU/CSU", for those who do not like to vote for the latter, perhaps because of its clerical tinge and because it straddles the political centre with one wing a little to the left, but who like Adenauer's foreign, and Erhard's economic policies.

This seems like very little to offer to an electorate, but appearances are deceptive in this case. At any rate, the FDP, too, was quite prepared to contest the election on domestic issues where it had a better chance to draw a distinctive line between itself and the CDU/CSU than in matters of foreign policy.

From about April, at which time the party platforms were beginning to be put before the voters, until June the electorate went along with the campaign plans of the parties. In these first two months of the campaign, according to the findings of the EMNID Institute (the German equivalent of the Gallup Poll), the Socialists gained support (from an initial 25 per cent of those questioned to 27 per cent), the Christian Democrats lost (down to 34 per cent from 37 per cent), the Free Democrats maintained their position at 8 per cent, and the number of those undecided stayed high (24 and 25 per cent, respectively).

The effect of the external crisis which developed at that moment was that it shortened the view of the voters. Suddenly, the prospects for social and economic improvement in the more distant future became less important than the immediate problems of Berlin and of the connected politico-military develop-

Glossary of German Political Parties

(Listed roughly from the Right to the Left)

DRP	Deutsche Reichs Partei	Extreme-nationalist
GDB	Gesamtdeutscher Block and Bund der Heimatlosen und Entrechteten	The old refugee party—main proponents of the principle of the "right to the homeland"
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei	The Free Democrats
CDU/CSU	Christlich-Demokratische Union and Christlich-Soziale Union	The ruling Christian Democrats
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	The Socialists (present official opposition)
DFU	Deutsche Friedens Union	Crypto-Communist or at least fellow-travelling

ments in and around Germany. Also, interest in party programs waned and increased as to personalities. The men who would be on the bridge and on the decks of the storm-tossed ship of state in the hurricane looming on the horizon became the primary concern of the German voters.

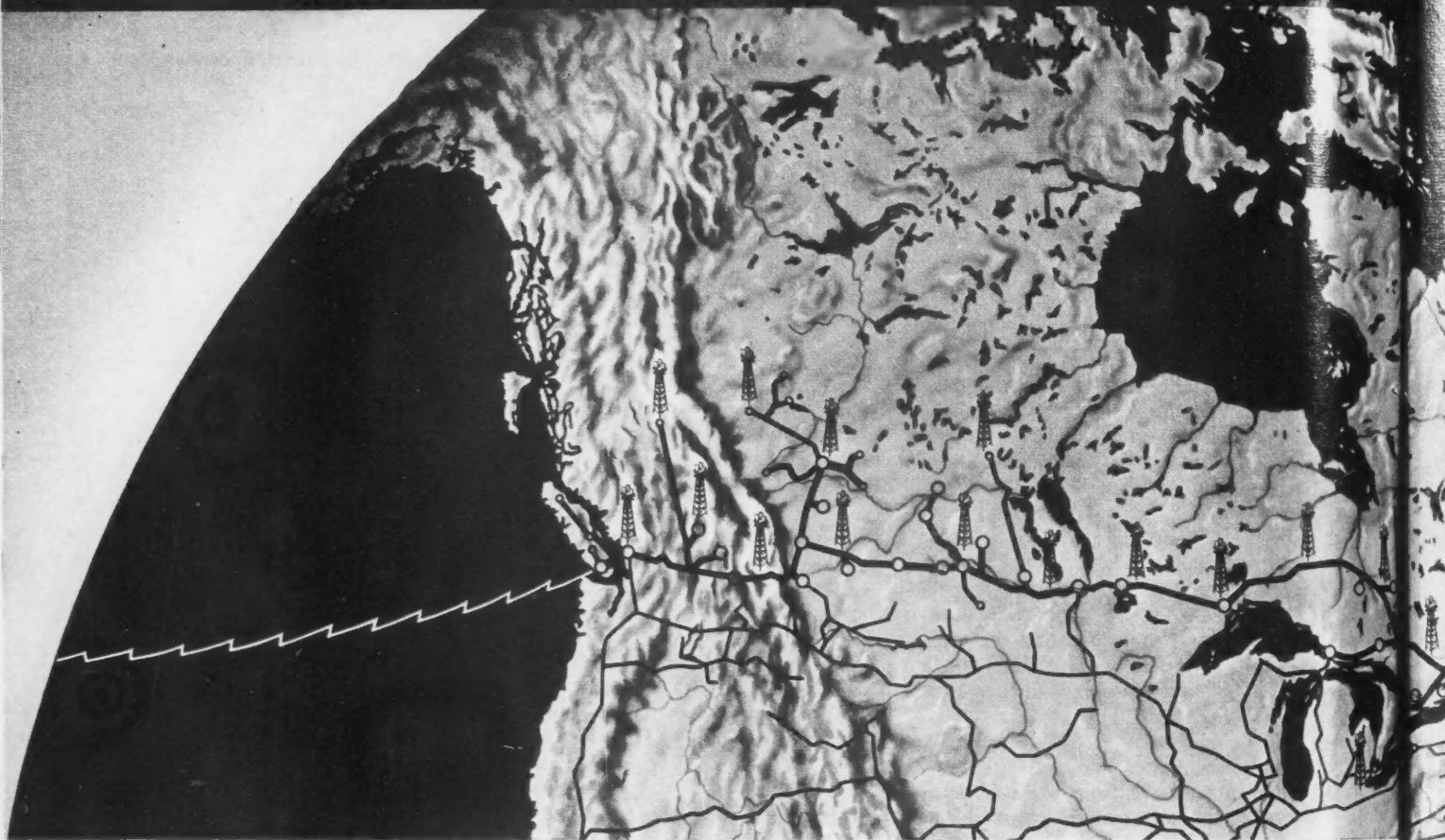
This fundamental change in the real campaign issues has not been reflected too strongly in the election tactics of the parties. The reasons for this phenomenon — the electorate being worked up over one matter, the politicians continuing to expound others — is actually not too difficult to understand. The CDU/CSU undoubtedly believes (and most probably rightly) that it has been helped by the Soviet move. It has a record of uncompromising rigidity in its dealings with the East.

"The Old Man", Adenauer, has for years been set up as another "iron chancellor". The Cologne Manifesto, the party platform enunciated last April, already contains the pledge to pursue a foreign policy with, for cornerstones, the freedom of Berlin as Germany's capital city (sic), security for the Federal Republic from all external threats, the right of self-determination for all Germans.

All that became necessary after June 11 was to remind the voters of the government's unwavering strength of purpose without, however, making it appear that the Adenauer team was bellicose or inclined toward political or military gambles. These dual goals the CDU/CSU has been able to pursue without letting-up on its predetermined main propaganda theme. It has muzzled its more sanguine representatives like Strauss, the redoubtable Minister of De-

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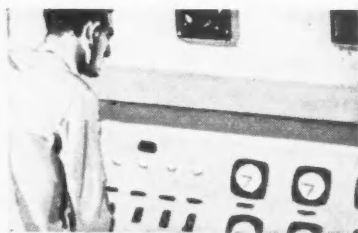
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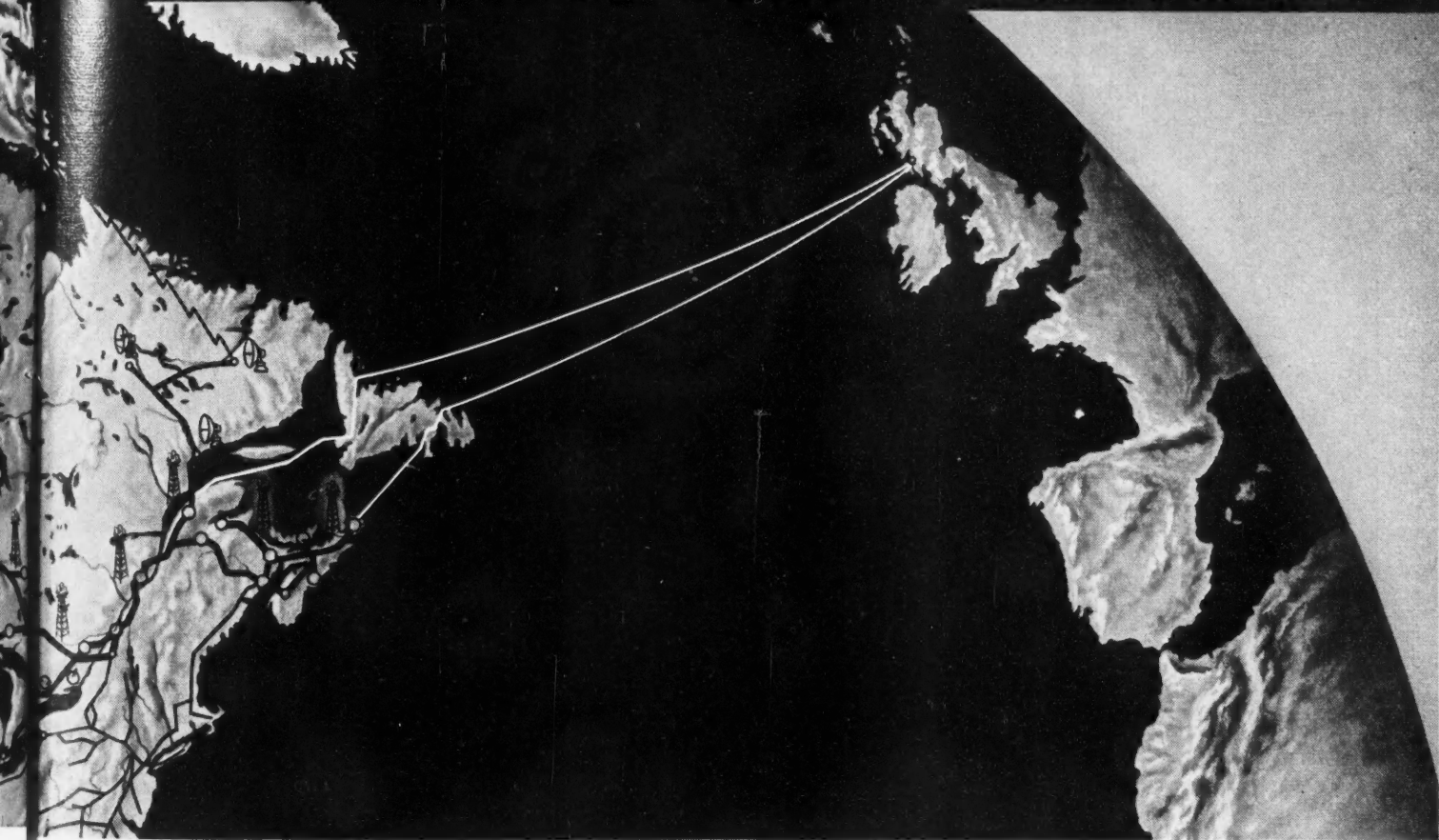
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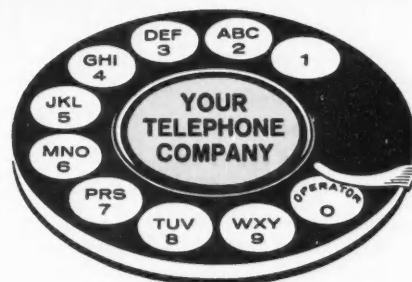


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fence (some thoughtful Germans are almost as much concerned over him as over Khrushchov).

On the other hand, Adenauer has given many people, inside and outside of Germany, the goosepimples by his frequent expressions of hope for the speedy return of the lost German lands in the East, and more recently by his demands for "atomic weapons for the German forces".

In view of what official NATO strategy is today, this can only mean that Adenauer now wishes the Germans to have control over nuclear warheads, a frightening thought, indeed. One thing is certain: Whether or not the CDU/CSU exploits the change in the principal election issues cleverly, indeed whether or not it exploits that change at all, the image of it in the voters' mind cannot easily be modified.

The position of the SPD is much more difficult. Like other European labor parties it has a record of pacifism. True, Brandt has broken with the pacifist past, and is making every effort to show that he has done so. He keeps on pointing out that socialist administrations of Berlin had fought for the freedom of the city even before the Federal Republic existed, and he emphasizes his own unwavering stand as mayor; he occasionally adds his voice to the cry for the "right to the homeland" raised by various nationalist groups in Germany.

He shows interest in German rearmament to the horror of more orthodox Socialists and he has even had himself photographed clad in armored corps overalls, peering sternly from the turret of a German tank. In setting himself up as a fighter as undaunted as Adenauer, Brandt has, of course, to contend with handicaps which are connected in part with his own personality, in part with the past performance and the present doings of the men around him.

Perhaps it is worth deviating for a moment from the main subject to pursue this point a little further. The number of Germans who would give their vote to a candidate because of his achievements under the Nazi regime is very small today, but equally small is the number of those who would withhold their vote from a man who was a Nazi or, whether party member or not, otherwise served Hitler well. A normal career in the Third Reich is if anything a recommendation. It is a bond between voter and candidate, it makes them equals.

The former resisters are merely incomprehensible to some, and are consciously or subconsciously resented by others. The feeling that the experience of 1933-1945 somehow belongs to the make-up of the complete German man

has become particularly strong in recent years, since the successes of German arms in the Second World War, especially in the desperate, hopeless battles at the end, have become a source of pride to most Germans.

Indeed, it can be said that the Hector of embattled Troy have belatedly become national heroes. One of those is, incidentally, Erich Mende, the leader of the Free Democrats, who won the Knight's Cross as commander of a forlorn rearguard in East Prussia, and finally, as a major aged only 28, extricated the remnants of the German 102nd Division which were in danger of being overrun by the Russians and led them into the haven of British captivity.

Almost all the leaders of the SPD have unblemished records of resistance to Nazism, a circumstance which is, at best, no help to them, and a handicap at worst. This goes for men like Fritz Erler who spent six-and-a-half years in concentration camps, but even more for the party's second-in-command Herbert Wehner and for Willy Brandt himself who worked abroad as political emigré.

The faint suspicion of lack of patriotism which attaches to the former anti-Nazis is strengthened as a result of serious indiscretions on the part of some of them. These have ranged from outright espionage committed by the SPD deputy Alfred Frenzel (also something of a political emigré: he spent the war as a cook in a Czechoslovak squadron of the RAF) to a recent, very foolish trip into East Germany, "to talk things over", by another Socialist MP, Wilhelm Droscher (who, to make things worse, has to live down a Communist past).

This all goes to show that Brandt would have had a very much easier stand if the election could really have been fought over domestic issues only, and that he must be having a hard time adjusting his campaign policy to the changed political situation.

The one party which should be entirely happy about the fact that the attention of the voters is now focused mainly on the current international crisis, is the FDP. By some strange process which should interest political scientists, it has become the spokesman for the stolid, conservative, loudly-patriotic German burghers, a species which at one time seemed practically extinct, but which now, amid general prosperity, is happily increasing in numbers again.

Having purged itself from an earlier prosperity for trying to make unofficial contacts with the DDR (and of a suicidal one for splitting down the middle at the worst possible times), the FDP now has in Erich Mende the

German beau ideal" of a man at its head. His staunchness in adversity certainly is not doubted, while his ability to deal with day-to-day political and economic problems has been. The Knight's Cross on Mende's starched shirt-front has become in the eyes of the occupants of the *Stammtische*, the reserved tables in the middle-class German inns, the very badge of the FDP.

A German election preview would not be complete without some reference to the radical parties, that is, those to the right of the Free Democrats and to the left of the Socialists. To begin with the extreme Right, the super-nationalist, possibly even neo-Nazi, groupings, of which the German Reich Party (DRP) is still the most important, are living for the present a shadow existence. The All-German Bloc (GDB/BHE), heir of the old refugee party, lost in the 1957 election (as a result of the vagaries of the electoral law) all the parliamentary seats it had held, although it polled about four-and-a-half per cent of the popular vote.

The GDB, crippled by the defection of most of its original leadership, has had the wind taken out of its sails when all three major parties hardened their stand toward the East and, more specifically, endorsed the principle of the "right to the homeland"; and has in Seiboth a leader of unproven ability, to say the least. It is a fair guess that the GDB will further lose in strength, possibly by as much as one-third, and that all three major parties will be the beneficiaries.

The Communist Party as such is outlawed in the Federal Republic, but, so far, it has managed to participate in every election, under one guise or the other, and always with a conspicuous lack of success. This time at least 14 Communists are expected to be running as Independents, and the German Peace Union (DFU), which has also entered the lists, can be considered to be Communist-dominated.

As has been the case so often, the DFU, too, was originally founded by a group of idealistic, liberal, politically naive intellectuals — characteristically, it included 23 university professors and 13 ministers — and was then infiltrated, and finally virtually taken over, by tough Communist *apparatchiks* trained in the political warfare schools of East Germany. Only nuisance value could be attributed to the DFU were it not for the fact that the SPD has discarded from its campaign program almost all of the tenets most cherished by die-hard Socialists, and that the latter are thus in search of a party which still upholds these principles.

The DFU may, in fact, drain some strength from the SPD. That such a possibility is being taken seriously was

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shown recently when the SPD called for the outlawing of the Peace Union as a crypto-Communist party, but the CDU Minister of the Interior declined to act. The conclusion is inescapable that the Socialists are somewhat worried over the inroads which the DFU may make in their ranks, while the party-in-power is quite content to see such a leech sticking to the body of its principal opponent.

The coming German elections are of the utmost importance to Germany and to the Free World as a whole. It will matter greatly who the men will be who will have to ride out the storm which



Adenauer: A new victory in sight?

is about to break, and who, if it should not be ridden out successfully, will pick up the political debris and repair the damage if it can be repaired. Day by day, as the tension mounts, more Germans realize just how much it will matter.

As the most renowned analysts of public opinion have learned to their discomfiture, forecasting the results of democratic elections is very dangerous business. Still, it seems to me that I must conclude this preview of the German general election with a piece of soothsaying, even at the risk of having it flung back in my face. Here, then, is my forecast for what it is worth:

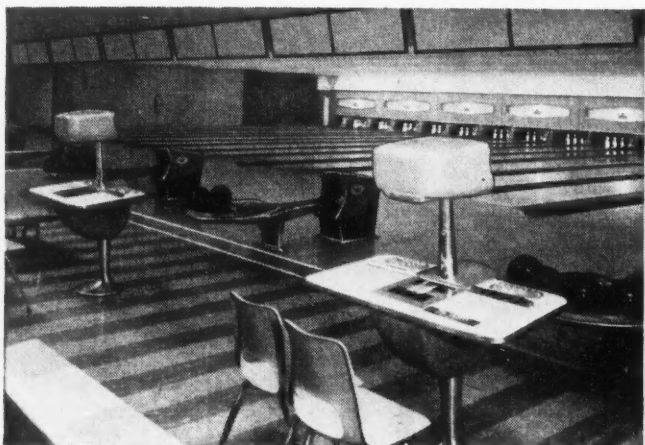
The CDU/CSU will again emerge as by far the strongest party, but it will just miss gaining the absolute majority (which it now has). The SPD will lose a little ground, mainly because of the defection of disappointed doctrinaire Socialists. The FDP will make some gains, at the expense of the GDB above all, but also of the Christian Democrats.

The next German government will be a coalition of the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats. Somewhat farther to be right than the present administration, and with a more noticeable nationalist tinge, it will be the one to face the music this late Fall or Winter.

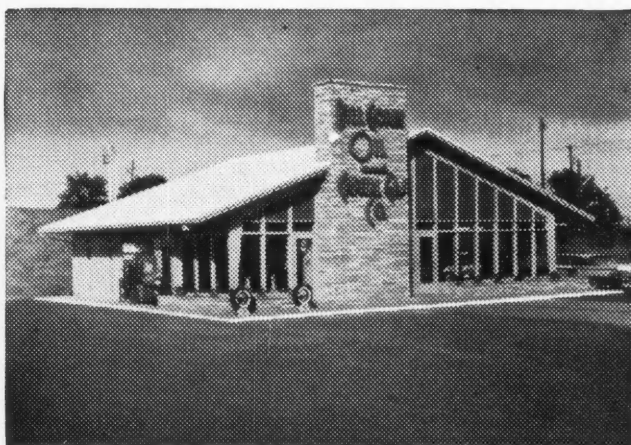
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Labor War Moves to Explosive Climax

by Frank Drea

LABOR WAR along the St. Lawrence Seaway threatens to become the most explosive union conflict since Canadian seamen smashed the Communist union that spoke for them 13 years ago.

In the first seven months of 1961, the Canada Labor Relations Board has heard allegations of rigged votes and stuffed ballot boxes in union elections; the Riot Act was read to break up a demonstration in the Welland Canal and one union has threatened to boycott all United States ships in Seaway canals and locks. Finally, new labor power blocs on the Canadian side of the Seaway have bypassed the central Canadian labor channels.

Once again the dominant figure in the struggle for control of Canada's economically vital lake and coastal seamen is Hal Banks.

The rugged San Francisco union official was brought to Canada 13 years ago to lead the two-fisted assault that destroyed the Communist-run Canadian Seamen's Union.

Banks' later moves to absorb a weaker and much smaller union that represented marine engineers into the Canadian district of the Seafarers International Union (now the SIU of Canada) subsequently took him out of the Canadian Labor Congress. He has been engaged for three years in a sometimes cold, but often hot, war with the three-times-larger Canadian Brotherhood of Rail, Transport and General Workers. It is this conflict which now threatens to engulf Canadian seamen.

The two unions first fought to a stalemate in British Columbia, with each side accusing the other of skulduggery and responsibility for beatings. The SIU has consistently accused the CBRT marine local there of Communist sympathies and once produced a photograph of an officer of the local carrying a banner in the Communist Party May Day Parade. The SIU charged that the man who took the photograph was later beaten up. The CBRT retorted that this was a smear.

But, until this shipping season, the CBRT had kept out of the Great Lakes. It had, however, beaten the SIU to the punch for control of 1,000 canal and lock workers on the Welland and Montreal-Iroquois locks just before the

Seaway officially opened.

But then two defectors from the inner circle of SIU officials, provided the impetus for CBRT to try to gain a toehold on the Seaway ships and the Great Lakes battle was on.

The union, two thirds of its membership employed by the Canadian National Railways, has crews on two ships, both converted ocean tankers owned by a Bermuda company but operated by Upper Lakes Shipping Co. for the navigation season.

These are the *Wheat King*, the smaller of the two, with a Greek immigrant crew and the *Northern Venture*, a 25,000-ton bulk carrier. The *Northern Venture* was stranded almost a month in Duluth, Minn., trying to load ore despite a picket line of unemployed U.S. seamen who claimed it was a runaway American-flag ship. It was finally loaded by supervisory personnel as the CBRT threatened to boycott U.S. ships in retaliation.

But the rough and tumble fights for control of ships are nothing new to the SIU, which was established in Canada in 1948 to scuttle the CSU, then threatening to boycott ships carrying Marshall Plan goods to Europe. The trouble was that Banks proved much tougher and more durable than the Government, ship owners or unions believed possible. Although he was the nation's most controversial union leader, he became the undisputed leader of the Canadian seamen whose wages under his regime made them, along with their U.S. counterparts, the highest paid in the world.

The union has also set up its own sailor centres where seamen can receive a variety of comforts and services free or at nominal charge. These include union protection against being overcharged by waterfront merchants.

But while the SIU prospered in the mid-1950's, the National Association of Marine Engineers, plagued by internal fights and divisions between Great Lakes and west coast members, appeared to be splitting up. One group voted to merge with the SIU despite protests that the persons doing the merging had forfeited their connections with the union.

Unable to continue the fight against the much larger SIU, the remnants of NAME voted to merge with the CBRT,

which represented crews on Canadian National coastal ships and ferries. But the SIU absorbed the Great Lakes or eastern district and began signing contracts covering the licensed crewmen even while the merger convention was on.

The Canadian Labor Congress, which attempted vainly to find a compromise, finally sided with the all-Canadian union and suspended the Seafarers' union after Banks ignored a CLC order to restore its engineer members to NAME.

With NAME part of its marine division, the CBRT launched a vigorous and successful campaign to pull west coast sailors out of the SIU. It made inroads in the smaller companies but was unable to dislodge the Seafarers' from the larger ones such as Black Ball Ferries.

The west coast campaign resembled a Barbary Coast uproar as the Canadian union claimed goons were being imported from Seattle and police clamped down on sailors carrying baseball bats and other weapons. Richard Greaves, former NAME president who was once beaten up in Montreal during the pre-merger days, was again the victim of a night attack while in his office. A pro-SIU seaman was battered and hurled onto railway tracks as the campaign gathered momentum.

But there was relative peace on the Great Lakes where the SIU hiring halls continued to place seamen on the Seaway ships and Banks busily signed concordats with the teamsters, longshoremen and hoisting engineers on the dredges to consolidate his position.

The waterfront war was extended to Great Britain last year as the SIU openly aided British seamen in their wildcat strike against the leaders of the National Union of Seamen. The attack devastated Britain's passenger ship service.

British union leaders accused the Canadian SIU of promoting a rebellion which saw sailors jumping ship at Montreal, Hamilton and the Lakehead in protest against the leaders of the NUS. The SIU claimed that it was merely helping sailors who were rebelling against abominable pay and working conditions. The SIU opened its Montreal hall to feed and house the English sailors.

But it was no secret that the SIU had been campaigning for months against competition from low-wage British tramps that had the same rights as Canadian ships in Canada's coastal and inland trade. With the opening of the Seaway, the British tramps had found a lucrative trade in grain from the Lakehead to Quebec City and iron ore from Seven Islands to Ohio lake ports.

The SIU paid the penalty of censure by the International Transport Federation as British union officials demanded it be ousted for interfering in the internal affairs of other unions. But the fight made Hal Banks one of the major powers in world trade unionism as U.S. maritime unions, in effect, backed his stand against the British competition in the Seaway.

This navigation season, two series of negotiations and a new Government policy appeared to put even more muscle into the already powerful Great Lakes wing of the SIU.

Banks, in a whirlwind series of meetings, founded a Great Lakes district of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, a move that bypassed any possible sanctions the CLC might have tried to place on his union. He became president. Then, to the consternation of the Canadian wing of the United Steelworkers which was backing the CLC position on the marine engineers, an official of the U.S. local of the Steelworkers representing sailors on iron ore carriers became the vice-president.

The other unions involved were the Teamsters and Hoisting Engineers, both expelled from the CLC, the International Longshoremen's Association and some smaller shore-based maritime unions. The purpose of the conference was to keep runaway flag (Panama, Honduras, Liberia and Costa Rica) ships out of the Seaway—and British as well unless they paid Canadian wages.

This first move proved unnecessary. The Government announced a new shipping policy which protected Canadian vessels, in the trade from Seven Islands to the Lakehead, from low-wage British ships.

The second manoeuvre came as the Canadian district of the SIU divorced itself from the effective control of the SIU, although it continued to be affiliated with the parent union. The effect was to make Banks the sailors' undisputed leader. International president Paul Hall no longer had any veto over Banks. A constitution was drawn up and ratified that made Banks president (he had been secretary-treasurer of the Canadian district) and set the fees for new members at \$340.

The new shipping policy was a two-

phase program to stimulate the lagging shipbuilding industry through quick depreciations and to protect the Seaway for Canadian ships. It threw more members into the SIU as firms that had operated under the British flag either changed to Canadian registry or agreed to engage Canadian crews.

The stimulus to the Canadian merchant marine came after the largest carrier, Canada Steamship Lines, switched the registry of a medium-sized carrier, the Coverdale, to the Bermuda flag to compete against the low-wage competition. Since the Coverdale maintained its Canadian crew and SIU agreement, the union made no protest as other fleets warned Ottawa that they were prepared to do the same unless there was aid from Government.

Then the unexpected happened as first Michael Sheehan, once a trusted aide of Banks, and John Wood, director of the SIU licensed division and a key man in the switch of the eastern district of NAME, defected.

Sheehan threatened to tell all, including the responsibility for the attacks on opponents of the SIU. But a new name appeared as Wood told the Canada Labor Relations Board that he had perjured himself in a previous appearance and then related a series of charges about rigged votes, phony ballots and stuffed ballot boxes that he said were part of the SIU drive to become the bargaining agent for marine engineers.

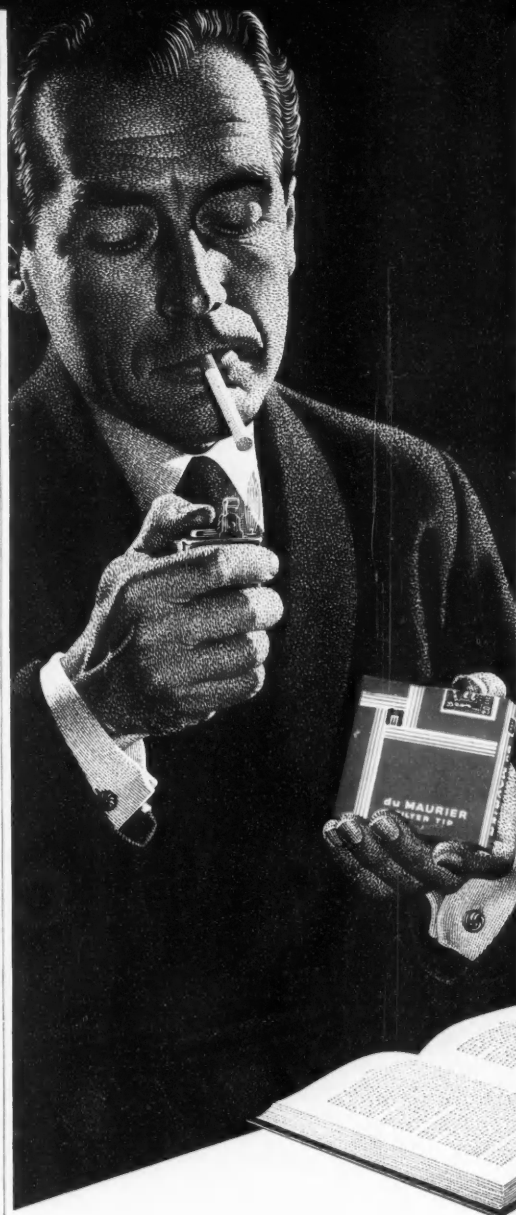
Wood, in charging that fraud and dictatorship were rife in the SIU, accused Banks and aide Leonard (Red) McLaughlin of marking the ballots for the vote to amalgamate the eastern district of NAME into the sailors union.

McLaughlin denied the charge which was corroborated by Sheehan. The SIU countered by depicting Wood as a self-confessed liar who had threatened revenge on the union for not allowing him to take a deep-sea job in violation of seniority rules.

The CLRB hearing involved nine certifications for marine engineers, eight of them won handily by the SIU in Government-supervised votes. The board rejected the SIU certification bid although it has not yet published its reasons for doing so.

On July 9, angry SIU officials and men picketed the *Northern Venture* in Port Weller after they claimed 15 SIU members had been threatened by a newly-formed union, the Canadian Seamen's Maritime Union, headed by Sheehan.

Five days later an injunction barring the picketing was granted but Mayor Ivan Buchanan had to read the Riot Act before a demonstration against the



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ship moving through the Welland Canal was dispersed. Nine SIU members were charged with unlawful assembly but were freed by the court when the crown attorney did not produce evidence at their trial.

It was at this juncture that the *Northern Venture* sailed into its \$1,500-a-day impasse when Duluth longshoremen would not work the ship because of the two pickets.

CBRT president William Smith charged Banks with ordering the picketing, and said that the crew was getting wages equal to SIU rates and some working conditions were superior. CLC president Claude Jodoin vainly appealed to the AFL-CIO to have its Maritime Trades Department remove the pickets. The CBRT appealed to External Affairs to protest the picketing but a court refused to bar the pickets.

The threat of the CBRT boycott, laughed off by Banks as irresponsible, finally saw the ship loaded by the supervisory help.

But the sailors' war will go on since the two opposite union leaders have become implacable foes. Smith, who has not feared to take on the Teamsters or the SIU in his campaign to expand the base of the CBRT, considers the fight against Banks almost a crusade. He has lashed out at the SIU leader as a man who wants the lake seamen to pay tribute to him or lose their livelihood and as a union dictator who denies democracy to the membership.

In return, Banks depicts the CBRT leader as the purveyor of "idiotic statements" and one who seldom can enforce his own edicts, particularly the threatened boycott of U.S. ships in the Seaway—which is operated by both the United States and Canada.

But the SIU has also created another implacable foe in the Upper Lakes Shipping Co. The union frequently refers to the past membership of a company official in the CSU and devoted an article to him in the union paper.

While the *Northern Venture* was idled in Duluth, Upper Lakes angrily charged that ship owners "must cooperate with the SIU or discharge their employees." Engineers on the Upper Lakes fleet were the only group to vote against the SIU in the Government-supervised vote that was to have decided which union would bargain for which engineers.

The CBRT feels that many seamen have become fed up with the SIU and will welcome a chance to join another union. But the SIU fires back that there is no real dissension in its ranks except for a few perennially disgruntled seamen. And so, the labor war builds toward its explosive climax.

SATURDAY NIGHT

Why Macmillan Is On the Way Out

by Donald Gordon

ONLY THE WISPY HOPE of an economic miracle wrought by membership in the European Common Market stands between Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and political extinction.

This astounding conclusion — shared by politicians of every party shade — now has emerged in Britain as a result of Macmillan's dilletante stewardship during the last 26 months. And while die-hard supporters still murmur about the possibilities of a re-birth of the Supermac of old, it's generally expected that the Edwardian First Minister will be consigned to the political boneyard before the next General Election.

The turnabout, while surprising on the surface, reflects the political and economic agony that Britain herself is undergoing as a result of economic obsolescence and diminished stature in world councils. These factors alone would have tarnished any government's reputation. And when compounded by indecision, they assume the proportions of a full-scale disaster.

The underlying ingredients reflect the follies of postwar history. Politically, as the lines of real authority have coalesced around the American and Russian superpowers, Britain's influence has literally evaporated.

By herself, she stands for little. Militarily, the successive ventures of Suez, the Jordan landings of 1958 and this year's show of force at Kuwait, have revealed the woeful weaknesses in her strategic concepts and reserves.

Economically, the loss of markets to competitors in West Germany, Japan, the United States, Italy and even France has underlined the growing incompetence of high-cost industries with relatively low productivity. (The few exceptions merely serve to demonstrate the vast improvements in management techniques, labor relations and equipment needed by the majority.)

And at the conference tables, the recurrent humiliations of bargaining concessions to all the Western allies — over Berlin, over Laos, over the Off-shore Islands, over the Algerian war, over the Congo and Portuguese Africa — have established that Britain can only play the game when she toes the line. Indeed, as some of Khrushchov's rude asides during the last year have indicated, the British view rates with Russia only when it reflects gaffly guying of the Americans.



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And, at the same time, the possibilities of coalition have been passed by as well. The Commonwealth dream — bedevilled by differences on race, by outright rivalries over trade, by different elements of domestic political expediency — has remained a dream and in the current battle over the Common Market may well be on the verge of outright abandonment.

Europe remains justifiably suspicious, almost hostile. Even with membership in the Market scheme, it has been made clear that British political influence will, at the very most, be equal to that of the three senior partners — France, West Germany and Italy — and under no



Lloyd: Excise increases criticized.

circumstances will it be allowed to dominate the bloc.

Small wonder that under the impact of such blows, Britons and their political representatives have grown restive. And in their search for a scapegoat, Macmillan has made the job ludicrously easy by essaying exactly the role most likely to draw fire from all sides.

On the Left, the outspoken *Daily Mirror* has christened the Prime Minister "Mr. Yes-No-Maybe". In support of its case, together with that of most of the Opposition, it cites a case made up of these factually or emotionally damning ingredients:

Economic hesitancy and incompetence. The delay on the Common Market bid, conceded by the Prime Minister himself to be of crucial importance, has infuriated practically everyone. In the marshmallow period of indecision this year both supporters and opponents of the scheme have been unable to come to grips on the issue. The issue has literally drifted for the better part of a year.

Similarly, in noting the government's measures to deal with the current economic crisis touched off by declining exports and internal inflation, Opposition critics base their case on the irrefutable disagreement of even government-appointed experts.

The Council on Prices, Production and Incomes, in a report issued just after Selwyn Lloyd's summer budget, criticizes the very increases in excise duty and purchase tax made by the government. The Council adds that appeals for restraint seems unlikely to solve any economic ills and it concludes that there is a great need for long-term planning, rather than stop-gap measures.

Political irritations. During the last two years, the government's turnabouts on its vital African policy have managed to confuse and alienate a host of Britons.

In the Rhodesias it is charged that Macmillan has allowed no fewer than three complete turnabouts on the question of independence and representation since the constitutional issue came to a head a year ago. White and blacks alike are, by now, angry and suspicious.

In addition, Laborites curse at such gaffes as the goodwill visit of a warship to Angola at the precise moment of the

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PA-81

riots, the sale of frigates to the Portuguese navy and the Arab-losing silence of the government over the Tunisian affair. They squirm at the idea of West German troops training in Wales, rail at the bad timing of pro-Franco remarks by various cabinet members and openly mock what they describe as a total lack of a coherent defence policy for the armed forces.

(One tale going the rounds now tells of a contract let for a tank-transporting aircraft which is nine inches too narrow to accommodate the tank it is supposed to carry — however, this can't be factually confirmed.)

Nepotism and the "Old Boy's" network. At time of writing no fewer than 36 direct relatives or relatives-by-marriage have been engaged by the Prime Minister for important government jobs. In addition, Opposition members are enraged by the trend toward what they regard as outright favoritism of business and businessmen.

They illustrate this with examples such as the surtax reliefs announced this spring which give the moguls of Britain £80 millions in tax exemptions at a time when threadbare teachers in the country have been denied a pay increase designed to bring their wages in line with those of manual laborers.

Parliamentary reform. The still celebrated case of Anthony Wedgewood Benn, the reluctant Lord Stansgate, struck a surprisingly large majority as an outright miscarriage of justice.

The government's refusal to introduce reform measures to allow persons like the able young peer to sit in the House of Commons is viewed as a piece of petty personal spite directed at a man who annoyed the Prime Minister himself with some penetrating thrusts when he masterminded the last General Election for Labor on radio and TV.

Security. Two major spy cases in one year followed by some stupendous oiling of the troubled waters by the Prime Minister have touched off vitriolic attacks.

Most of this irritation from official Opposition personalities isn't too surprising. The fundamental philosophical differences between the two parties provide inevitable frictions.

But what has been ominous has been the open discontent of erstwhile Conservative supporters. The biggest and noisiest protest has been over the very Common Market issue that rates as Macmillan's hope of survival.

The very idea of moving into a foreign, untrustworthy and unreliable Europe at the risk of losing the Commonwealth has reduced right wing Conservatives to apoplexy. 25 Conservative



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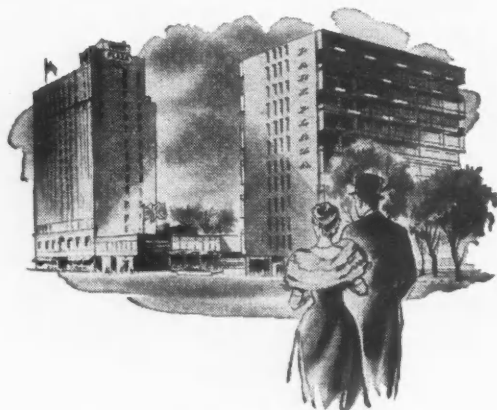
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MP's voted against the government on the issue and every one of them publicly and privately blames the Prime Minister personally for all the trouble.

In addition, the economic crisis has brought a further harvest of discontent. Worried Tories in marginal seats regard the levying of excise charges on cigarettes, beer and gasoline and the increase of the purchase tax on cars and TV sets as a certain kiss of death when the next elections come along.

They feel Macmillan was grossly neglectful of his duty as a political leader in allowing the studious Selwyn Lloyd to introduce these measures all at once. In their eyes, the only hope of Conservative salvation lies in finding another man — as was the case with Eden over Suez — to be built up in time for polling day as a popular father figure.

And the ordinarily docile cranks are annoyed too. Without gaining much in liberal approval (the measures don't go far enough), extremists in Tory ranks have been at least temporarily lost to the government by steps during the last two years to reform criminal law (modifying capital punishment), to open up Sundays (planned this autumn), to revise gambling limits and allow legal off-course bookmaking and to streamline education.

They're upset too by Macmillan's persistent refusal to take steps to reduce the current wave of West Indian and Asian immigration.

All told, at the least, the sum of these varied irritations adds up to a substantial weakening of Macmillan's personal grip in the party and unsettling losses for the party in terms of financial support and help on the hustings. An estimated 20 per cent of the party faithful have indicated that they intend to support the all-out bid by the Liberals in the next election. Of course, better than half can only be won back if Macmillan goes.

Only one thing, in the eyes of the party professionals, can change the odds. During the last election, it's conceded that Macmillan won for everyone with his urbane, confident, persuasive "You've never had it so good" appeal.

If during the next year, he can finally explode into action sufficient to bulldoze his reluctant partisans into the Common Market and if, when that happens there is a pickup in economic health comparable to that experienced by the founder members when they embarked on the scheme, Macmillan may once again stand for good times.

With such good times, and the convenient shortness of political memories these days, he would survive.

But such a combination in London eyes would truly be a miracle.

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by Arnold Edinborough



Orwell: After 10 years, topical.

THE THING WITH George Orwell is that he is so up-to-date. Although he has been dead for ten years, and although the majority of the work now re-published in *Collected Essays* was written before 1945, it is all topical.

Here is a first-rate review of *Tropic of Cancer* — a book just banned in Boston but available everywhere else in the U.S. for the first time under the Grove Press imprint. Here is a remarkably perceptive backward glance at the Spanish Civil War — and the first really definitive history of that muddled and savage conflict is on hand for review this month (*The Spanish Civil War* by Hugh Thomas, (Ryerson)). There is even a defence (undertaken in 1945) of P. G. Wodehouse whose case of collaboration is being hotly debated in England at this moment. [London Letter: SN, September 2].

There is also a short essay entitled Marrakech, which foresees, from the vantage point of 1939, the current eruption of the African volcano:

"A tall, very young Negro turned and caught my eye. But the look he gave me was not in the least the kind of look you might expect. Not hostile, not contemptuous, not sullen, not even inquisitive. It was the shy, wide-eyed Negro look, which actually is a look of profound respect. . . This wretched boy, who is a French citizen and has therefore been dragged from the forest to scrub floors and catch syphilis in garrison towns, actually has feelings of reverence before a white skin. He has

been taught that the white race are his masters, and he still believes it.

"But there is one thought which every white man . . . thinks when he sees a black army marching past. 'How much longer can we go on kidding these people? How long before they turn their guns in the other direction?'"

George Orwell was in Britain's Colonial police force for several years. One would hardly expect that background to have given him such perception into the problems of colonialism. But it is typical of his clear-headedness that he sees the inherent ludicrousness of the master race's position in "Shooting An Elephant" and can equally see in "Marrakech" that the brown and black people of this world are "invisible" — their oppression and misery literally unseen by their administrators.

A policeman who realised the injustices of his own authority, Orwell was also an intellectual who could see significant popular beliefs in such ephemeral and un-intellectual material as the salacious postcards offered for sale at British seaside resorts and in boys' magazines.

In "The Art of Donald McGill" he takes the hideously colored postcard which mostly illustrates "a sort of sub-world of smacked bottoms and scrawny mothers-in-law". Yet underneath the over-powering obscenity he sees there portrayed the sad facts of working class existence — premature aging, heroic acceptance of pain and suffering and a strong belief in the *status quo*, both in morality and in politics.

In the essay on "Boys' Weeklies" it is again the *status quo* which fascinates him and the clever method by which these stories of boys' schools buttress it. We all remember the condescension towards foreigners, the easy grace of inherited money, the acceptance of physical grossness and, above all, the intense humor centering on the one boy in the form who is fat, which are a part of the *Gem* and the *Magnet*.

But how many of us see Billy Bunter, the Honourable Arthur Augustus D'Arcy and Hurree Jamset Ram Singh as prototypes by which generations of school boys in England in the murkiest of elementary schools are indoctrinated against socialism and against their working background? Through these series, says Orwell, they have their sights set on either becoming suave, cool and rich or on accepting such people as their natural leaders and masters if they never get to join the charmed circle themselves.

This fresh approach, this utter clarity of thought is not, of course, pre-occupied with penny dreadfuls and dirty pictures. In a long essay on Dickens, Orwell is just as perceptive, as he is also in a long review article on James Burnham, the author of *The Managerial Revolution*. In "Politics In the English Language", in "Politics versus Literature" and in "The Prevention of Literature" we get the original working papers of that great book 1984.

But it is not just his ideas. It is his forceful, lucid and exact expression, plus his intense feeling of the right word which makes him so readable and so impressive. For example, it must have infuriated his poetic contemporaries when he said of them: "Suddenly we have got out of the twilight of the Gods into a sort of Boy Scout atmosphere of bare knees and community singing. The typical literary man [has ceased] to be a cultured expatriate with a leaning towards the Church and [has become] an eager-minded school boy by leaning toward Communism".

Again, (and how contemporary with the Common Market controversy this is) he says, "The British Empire is a huge heterogeneous organisation held together largely through mutual consent and it is often necessary to flatter the less reliable elements at the expense of the more loyal ones." And of Salvador Dali he says that "in his outlook, his



First Canadian Coppers...



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character, the bed-rock decency of a human being doesn't exist. He is as anti-social as a flea".

George Orwell did not write all that much, but like Hemingway, what he did write was of exceptional quality. This volume of *Collected Essays* stands head and shoulders above the work of any other English essayist of this century with the possible exception of F. L. Lucas.

Collected Essays, by George Orwell —
British Book Service—\$7.25.

Plastic Genius

THIS BIOGRAPHY, written by the science correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, is the story of Sir Archibald McIndoe, the distinguished New Zealand surgeon whose skill, energy and knowledge of the human spirit restored hundreds of the scarred survivors of the Battle of Britain to the services and to civilian life. Long before the end of World War II his hospital in East Grinstead had become world-famous, and long after its conclusion he continued to befriend and repair the veterans known as the McIndoe guinea-pigs.

The title was highly applicable, since Sir Archibald was a bold experimenter who devised most of his own methods, both technical and psychological. Since he was also a shrewd observer and a superb technician, his work was a spectacular success, and never more triumphant than when he had flouted red tape and traditionalism.

Like many of the famous, he was a man of paradoxical temperament; dedicated yet worldly, a humanitarian who was curiously ruthless in his personal relationships, a scorner of officialism and a great observer of social forms. He was never happier than among the McIndoe guinea-pigs at East Grinstead; but he also enjoyed the company of the rich and famous and lavished his best skill on the minor facial abrasions of the Duchess of Windsor and Ava Gardner.

Under different circumstances, it is quite possible that Sir Archibald might have remained relatively unknown beyond the special group that could afford to pay a hundred guineas or more for a face or breast lifting, or for one of the famous tip-tilted McIndoe noses. East Grinstead, however, seems to have excited everything that was most compassionate and creative in his nature.

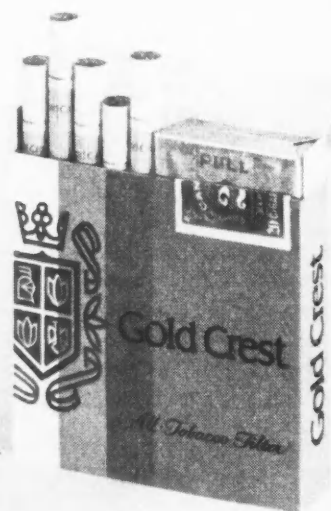
The gratitude of hundreds of nameless, and at one time almost faceless air-veterans is probably his best memorial.

M.L.R.

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SATURDAY NIGHT

Chess

by D. M. LeDain

IT WAS NOT until after World War II that development of airmail service made feasible the expansion of correspondence competition to world wide dimensions. An international organization now controls individual and team championships. C. J. S. Purdy, Australia, won the first world championship in which 78 competitors from 22 nations entered the preliminaries. V. Ragsin, USSR, won the second event and the third is now in progress.

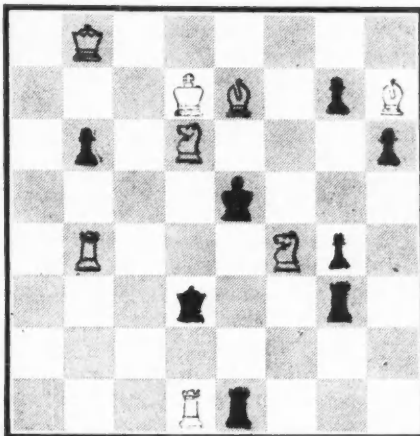
Cecil Purdy, Sydney, is also a cross-board master and editor-founder of the fine monthly "Chess World".

White: C. Purdy, Black: D. McGrath.
1.P-K4, Kt-KB3; 2.P-K5, Kt-Q4; 3.P-Q4; P-Q3; 4.P-KB4, P-K3; 5.Kt-KB3, P-QB4; 6.Kt-B3, Q-R4?; 7.B-Q2, BPxP; 8.KtxP, PxP?; 9.B-Kt5ch!, B-Q2; 10.KtxKt, Q-Q1; 11.KtxKP!, PxKt; 12.Q-R5ch, P-Kt3; 13.QxKP, BxB; 14.Kt-B7ch, K-Q2;

15.KtxB, B-K2; 16.Castles(Q), Kt-B3; 17.B-B3ch, Resigns.

Solution of Problem No. 278 (Wrobel), Key, 1.Kt(K2)-B3.

Problem No. 279 by L. Loschinsky (1st Prize, Tchigorin Memorial Ty., 1960).
White mates in two moves. (8 + 8)



Take A Chance

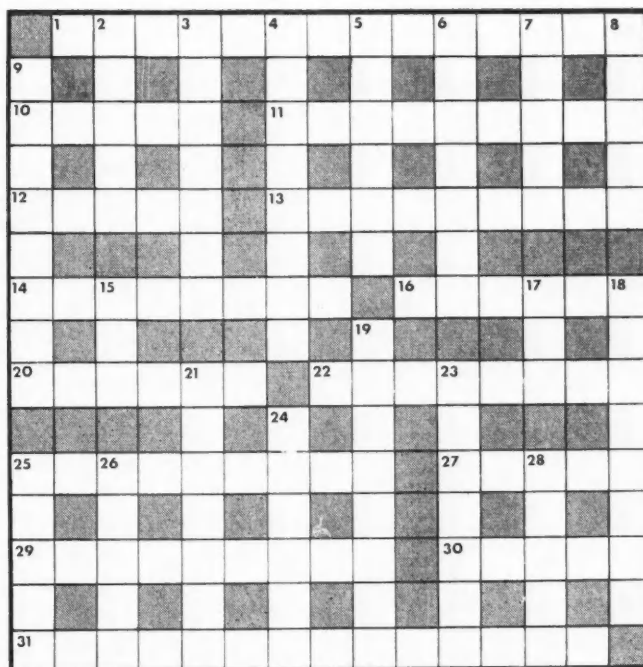
by Louis and Dorothy Crerar

ACROSS

- 1 Fed up? Certainly not! (14)
- 10 A word one would expect to find in the dictionary. (5)
- 11 The bell tower is the place to pitch your tent by a river. (9)
- 12 Dick left Frederick with less ties. (5)
- 13 Hides here, from beatings, perhaps. (9)
- 14 "What we least generally happens". (Disraeli) (8)
- 16 Some wealthy bridegrooms conceal their mixed origins. (6)
- 20 Write to your friend if he's gone to jail. (3, 3)
- 22 Sticking to the rules but finishing with a caper. (8)
- 25 The new is usually bound to be with the old in church. (9)
- 27 Necessitates one leaving one's living-quarters. (5)
- 29 China is no good, it appears, in this game. (9)
- 30 Hooded bird of legend? (5)
- 31 If it's a true relation of yours, and we're alone, this is no doubt true. (5, 7, 2)

DOWN

- 2 Lifting an article I've found quite simple. (5)
- 3 The centre I stagger to with fever? (7)
- 4 Do they make you hot under the collar? (8)
- 5 What the female impersonator does to his sex? (6)
- 6 I am about to turn grey, but it's all mental. (7)
- 7 I hit a colored man here. (5)
- 8 Fancy this for a ball! (5)
- 9 ISOS? (4-4)
- 15 You might get stuck with this money. (3)
- 17 No untruth can hide what the truth makes apparent. (3)
- 18 Does he hold all the cards on board? (8)
- 19 Soldier sent to repair the line. (8)
- 21 I crave a change, and not small change, either. (7)
- 23 Should be grate-ful to a companion for holding fire. (7)
- 24 Just the mallet with which to kill this insect. (6)
- 25 But taken up by those who should reduce. (5)
- 26 The holy man had us all upset. (5)
- 28 Might contain a picture of little Albert, the good-for-nothing. (5)



Solution to last puzzle

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ACROSS | 26 Luigi | 6 Eat |
| 1 Date-turnover | 28 Stoic | 7 Brave New World |
| 9 Rut | 29 Bus | 8 Spit and polish |
| 10 Colon | 30 Make ends meet | 13 Satanic |
| 11 Put up | | 15 Aramaic |
| 12 Visitor | | 17 Concubine |
| 14 Instant | DOWN | 19 Red Cross |
| 16 Noticing | 1 Dot | 22 Lesson |
| 18 Strain | 2 Tacit | 25 Uncle |
| 20 Waning | 3 Tolerant | 27 Ida |
| 21 Jew's-harp | 4 Rancid | 29 Bit (528) |
| 23 Occlude | 5 Opposites | |
| 24 Council | | |

Puzzler

by J. A. H. Hunter

"THINGS DON'T SEEM to have changed much since my last visit," said Ted. "The same sleepy little town."

"I guess it looks that way," George nodded. "But wait till you've seen our new roads, and the fine new highways straight from here to Skerry and from here to Felton."

"Felton?" Ted repeated. "Oh, yes. I remember that trip. We had to drive due north along the highway, and then turn off on a terrible track that ran straight as a die due east to the place. We noticed the distance along each leg was an exact number of miles."

His friend laughed. "What a memory! Getting to Skerry was no better. Instead of turning off to Felton, one continued 17 miles due north on that highway to an even worse road that leads due west 56 miles straight to it."

"So now you've got direct roads to both," commented Ted. "How long are they?"

"You figure it out," George told him. "Equal distances, and each is a whole number of miles."

So you figure it out!

Answer on Page 56.

(161)

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Films

by Mary Lowrey Ross

Come Hell and High Water

THE SECRET of making exciting movies seems to lie in piling sequences precariously, one on top of another, like matches on a bottle top, rather than in laying them end to end in orderly fashion, till they reach from here to boredom. The former technique, at any rate, is the one employed by Film writer Carl Foreman and Director J. Lee Thompson in *The Guns of Navarone* which moves along breathlessly until you are ready to bet that one more implausibility will bring the whole structure toppling down. It would be a losing bet.

The guns in this case are two Big Berthas tucked away safely inside a mountainous cliff on an Aegean Island. The guns can't be approached from below or bombed from above, and the Commander (James Robertson Justice) a brave and resolute man—especially when it comes to sending other brave and resolute men on suicidal missions—figures that the only possible attack is from the inside. So he details a group of desperadoes to climb the sheer face of the fortress, penetrate the German position as best they can, and blow it, and almost certainly themselves, to Kingdom Come.

The group is headed by Gregory Peck, who, it seems, can speak German like a German and Greek like a Greek and climb like a mountain goat. So the raiders set sail, and from the beginning you realize that this modern Jason and his crew are bound to perish; and also, by all the rules that they are bound to survive. It is Director Thompson's great virtue that he

can preserve this preposterous see-saw from the opening sequence right up to the very end.

In between spells of hell and high water, leader Peck manages to get off a few homilies on the lunacy of war and the nausea produced in a sensitive man by the killing off of one's fellow creatures. This is no more than a concession to the squeamish, however.

He and his gang of half-a-dozen ruffians go right ahead with the slaughter, while still preserving the minor courtesies of war; i.e. they kill off the lower ranks like flies, but merely deprive the officers of their uniforms, leaving them in nothing but their underpants. There are a few spots of comedy, but for the most part *The Guns of Navarone* is a big wild crazy-quilt of violence and carnage, pieced together expertly from dozens of old actions films, and over its entirety, it is as lively as the best of them.

The cast includes in addition to Gregory Peck, Anthony Quinn as a murderous but high-minded Cretan and David Niven, the latter as lively as ever when it comes to scaling cliffs and distributing high explosives in unlikely places. They are awesomely brave to a man, and altogether I haven't had as exciting a time in the Aegean area since I read *Twice Told Tales* at the age of seven.

Like the producers of *The Guns of Navarone*, the old legend makers realized that it doesn't matter how often a tale is told so long as the original pace is maintained. Otherwise it will



"*The Guns of Navarone*": As lively as the best of them.

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Bergman and Montand.

be the audience rather than Jason that will turn to stone.

Early in *Goodbye Again* Ingrid Bergman, sitting all alone in her Paris flat, is called to the telephone by her lover (Yves Montand.) She reaches the telephone in a bound and we watch while the light dies out of her lovely face and her beautiful voice sinks to dulled forbearance. "But of course. Of course I understand. Call me when you get back."

He does call her when he gets back, but it's the same old story. Nobody calls excitingly to say, "Look why don't you slip into that off-the-shoulder number and come out to the Deauville Casino?" Nobody ever calls except M. Montand, and he calls only to say that he has to go out of town on a special contract for the trucking company—a transaction that always involves the support of some little floozie he has picked up in a Paris bar.

To be sure he is faithful to his Cynara in his fashion, but it isn't her fashion and presently she takes up with a rich weedy youth (Anthony Perkins) who is half her age and gets the giggles after his third cocktail. By the time M. Montand gets around to telephoning her again she is in deeper anguish than ever. Can't forsake her *protégé*, can't forget her lover.

And so it goes, right up till the last sequence, when M. Montand, now permanently installed, telephones to say that he has another big trucking contract coming up and can't make it for dinner. The trouble here is that the deeper the heroine sinks into despair, the more supportable the shock becomes to her and her audience. After all, we've learned what to expect from these telephone calls, why can't she?

Back a couple of decades ago, the great Garbo went through the same ordeal of feminine suffering. It lasted right up to *Ninotchka*, when she electrified the world by bursting into a hearty Scandinavian laugh. That laugh did wonders for Garbo and her audiences. It could do the same for Bergman and hers.



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"Innocent Until Proved Guilty?"

by J. D. Morton

ON AUGUST 20 of this year a riot occurred at Bordeaux Jail in Montreal. According to newspaper reports, the prisoners set two fires before they were dispersed by club-wielding guards hurling tear gas bombs. The outbreak came at eleven a.m. when the prisoners were filing back to their cells after a recreation period in the yard.

Earlier in the month there had been great public outcry in Toronto over another event. Police broke up what was alleged to have been a noisy and drunken party and arrested all those present.

The women in the party were removed from the police station to Toronto's Don Jail for overnight detention. The women are reported to have complained that on admission to the jail they were compelled to submit to a vaginal examination. Jail authorities have subsequently stated that such examination is necessary to ensure that women prisoners do not smuggle "contraband" (i.e., prohibited matter such as narcotics) into the jail with them.

There has been widespread criticism, sparked by Pierre Berton, the Toronto columnist, of the police and prison authorities.

Shortly before this incident, and also in Toronto, a "Ban-the-Bomb" demonstrator who had been taken into custody on a charge of obstructing the police complained that he had been forcibly photographed and fingerprinted. There was considerable public shock at the police claim that they had a lawful right to use force if necessary in such circumstances.

What have these three incidents in common? The answer is that they all concern citizens who have been charged with *but not convicted* of a criminal offence.

In Montreal, the rioting was confined to 190 prisoners *awaiting trial*. The Sheriff said that most of the men had been there only a few days "so it was unlikely that food or conditions were behind the riot."

The Toronto women who were subjected to undignified search had been *charged with, but not convicted of, a criminal offence*.

The "Ban-the-Bomb" demonstrator had been *charged with, but not convicted of, obstructing the police*.

The public outcry about these instances is, as is far too often the case, misinformed. There is no point in

criticizing police and prison authorities if they were doing their duty—if they were doing what society, through the legislatures, had directed them to do.

The significant factor in all three cases is that they concern the rights of the citizen after he has been charged, but before he has been found guilty of any criminal offence. It is with this matter that the citizen ought to be concerned.

At common law, it was said that a man is presumed innocent until he was found guilty.

Under the Canadian Bill of Rights, it is provided that:

S.2. "no law of Canada shall be construed or applied so as to . . .

(f) deprive a person charged with a criminal offence of the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, or of the right to reasonable bail without just cause."

Both these propositions seem reasonably clear. In Canada, however, it would seem that little effort has been made to apply them to the case of the person who has been charged but not yet been tried. If this presumption of innocence is to be given any meaning, it must be that the person who has not yet been tried must be treated differently from the person who has been convicted of an offence.

What does happen? The answer is that society has not found it possible completely to suspend judgment until a court has delivered its verdict.

Obvious cases where the public interest demands that unconvicted persons must be held in custody are those where violence may reasonably be anticipated, where the person is drunk or otherwise personally incapacitated or where there is good reason to believe that if the person charged with an offence were released he would not appear to stand trial.

At the moment, citizens who are held in custody under any of these three headings are, generally speaking, held in jails just as if they were convicts. In most cases, as in Toronto's Don Jail, they are given very limited privileges such as the right to wear their own clothing and to receive more visits than convicts. They must share the same cells as convicts and are subjected to the same discipline.

The convicts have been found guilty

and are undergoing punishment—the others are citizens, presumed innocent by law and awaiting trial. Obviously, if the presumption of innocence is to mean anything, the two classes of prisoners must be segregated. The citizen who must in the public interest be held in custody until trial should be treated with the greatest possible consideration.

Something on these lines has been achieved in the U.K. with the setting up of Remand Homes and Departments. Even there the distinction between necessary custody and punishment seems not to have been fully appreciated.

I know nothing of conditions in Bordeaux Prison. Certainly, the Governor and staff of Toronto's Don Jail do the best they can for all their prisoners. Nonetheless, it is not difficult to realize the feelings of the 190 men in Bordeaux jail to whom the hallowed presumption of innocence must seem something of a shibboleth.

There is another class of citizen who may be involved with the law, one who represents no present danger to himself or another and who can be compelled to appear for trial by less stringent steps than custody. These might be called *bailable prisoners*.

On establishing their identity and satisfying a Justice of the Peace that they will appear for trial they may safely be released. Bail, in most cases, involves the putting up of certain financial security by the prisoner or a friend, which will be forfeited should he fail to appear.

The Canadian practice in this area does not work any great injustice except in the case of a person who is arrested at night. It is surprisingly difficult to furnish proof of financial responsibility during the hours when banks and lawyers' offices are closed. Hence a prisoner arrested during the night under present practices may well have to wait for the morning in custody.

This may involve spending the night in the company of drunks and prostitutes either in police cells or in the local jail. This is a lot to ask of the still presumably innocent citizen especially if it involves such jail-admission procedures as de-lousing and vaginal examinations.

There appear to be two possible solutions to the problem of the bailable

citizen arrested at night. First, he might be detained under the most considerate conditions without being subject to procedures which may or may not be appropriate for those undergoing punishment. In the alternative, upon satisfactory proof of identity, he might be released by a Justice of the Peace who was satisfied that he could be relied upon to appear at a proper bail hearing the following morning. Doctors are "on call" at night. There seems to be no reason why a J.P. should not be kept similarly on call.

There are, of course, a vast number of cases in which even temporary custody is not necessary and in which the alleged offender will be summoned.

What of the citizen who having been charged with an offence is compelled to being finger-printed and photographed? The Canadian Parliament has made its wishes perfectly clear on this point.

The Identification of Criminals Act R.S.C. 1952, c.144 provides

2. (1) Any person in lawful custody, charged with, or under conviction of an indictable offence, or who has been apprehended under the *Extradition Act* or the *Fugitive Offenders Act*, may be subjected, by or under the direction of those in whose custody he is, to the measurements, processes, and opera-

tions practised under the system for the identification of criminals commonly known as the Bertillon Signaletic System, or to any measurements, processes or operations sanctioned by the Governor in Council having the like object in view.

(2) Such force may be used as is necessary to the effectual carrying out and application of such measurements, processes and operations.

(3) The signaletic cards and other results thereof may be published for the purpose of affording information to officers and others engaged in the execution or administration of the law."

It is said that Police Intelligence requires this procedure—that the police must be in a position to find out whether they are holding a known criminal or a wanted man. Further photographs and fingerprints may provide necessary evidence to show that the person charged is guilty of the particular offence. Records so obtained are not destroyed in the event that the person charged is acquitted.

Public outcry against police and prison authorities is unwarranted where those officials are merely carrying out the law. It is time the citizen faced up to his proper responsibilities. In Canada, it is the citizen who is responsible not only to the law, but *for* the law.

The FALL BOOK ISSUE of

SATURDAY NIGHT

will be published on

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Stand and Deliver

Some comments on your recent reply concerning payment and delivery of investment securities. Regulations of stock exchanges and the Investment Dealers' Association prohibit registration of securities in an individual's name prior to payment. The investment dealer in furnishing registration incurs mailing, handling and insurance costs, and should not have to advance funds for the time involved in transfer of title. Additionally, the dealer's contract of sale passes all title rights and dividends to the new owner, who has not, until payment, given a positive acknowledgement of his ability to trade. — W.M., Montreal.

Gold and Dross suggested deferment of payment until presentation of a certificate registered to the buyer as a theoretical remedy for the dilatory performance of some brokers in not delivering registered certificates to the buyer for several weeks after payment. Thus, the broker could be getting the free use of the client's money for the period. But that the suggestion was merely theoretical was emphasized by the accompanying note that the buyer would be bound by the regulations of the stock exchange where the order was executed.

Brokers are highly capable of looking out for No. 1, so one wonders why it should be necessary to prohibit a practice their own interests obviate. It might be noted the prohibition does not extend to individuals. Small amounts of stock which have not been paid for are commonly registered to nominees to qualify them to attend a company meeting. Simultaneously with registration the nominee endorses the stock and his name appears on the company books as a shareholder until the effective owner retransfers it.

A similar registration to and endorsement by a nominee is used for a more sinister purpose. Large blocks of stocks can be blown off by a promoter, whose show would slip if he were known to be a seller whereas deliveries are made of certificates registered to an obscure clerk without comment.

While no one would seriously suggest the broker financing a client's purchase, this is not the same thing as the broker not being able to afford such a pro-

cedure. Combined buying and selling commissions on industrial stocks involve anywhere from 1% to 5% of the amount of money involved.

Since brokers screen their clients, the risk from one reneging is slight, and wouldn't reduce the commission bite perceptibly. The 5% bite, it might be pointed out, exists in the 20 cents a share buying and 20 cents a share selling commissions on a stock traded at \$8. The aggregate of buying and selling commission is 40 cents, or 5% of the \$8 involved. No wonder brokers like to see high-priced stocks split into low-priced units.

Gold and Dross thanks the Montreal reader for sparking a discussion of aspects of trading which never cease to be of interest.

B.A. vs. Dominion

Would it be advisable to sell my B.A. Oil shares and buy Dominion Stores, which is reportedly splitting its stock? I would hate to sell B.A. at the price it is now unless I could do much better. — M.M., Downsview, Ont.

Both B.A. Oil and Dominion Stores are operating in industries in which major changes are possible. So far the main recent alteration in the food industry has been trading stamps, which have not been proven to add anything to overall industry sales but which further narrow the margin between intake and costs. Dominion Stores tried to hold out against the stamps but was forced into them in some areas. A split of its stock would expand its shareholder base but not necessarily enhance the equity's value.

Canadian oil equities have been sluggards. Investment sentiment has not been able to build up for them because of intense industry competition domestically and a slow buildup of exports to the U.S. But the long-term outlook for the industry is good. Additionally B.A. has a major position in natural gas.

Considering the difficulty of proving the superiority of Dominion Stores over B.A., and the commissions and trouble which would be involved in a switch, we would be inclined to retain B.A. This opinion does not exclude the possibility of Dominion Stores advancing for reasons which are not apparent.

Prospectors Airways

Prospectors Airways never going to go up again? — M.G., Vancouver.

Prospectors Airways is, as its name implies, engaged in the search for mining properties, and naturally its shares fluctuate with the fortunes of war. The leverage of good news was increased by reason of the small floating supply as a result of a large amount of stock being held by Anglo-Huronian. Another factor was the calibre of PA associations — with Noranda, Kerr-Addison and others.

PA holds claim groups in many parts of Canada and seems as favorably situated as anything in its category to turn up something interesting. But the shareholder (we judge our enquirer is frozen in at a higher price) should realize the search for ore is extremely risky. It is a type of business activity which cannot be financed by any but the speculative public.

Because the prizes are rare, the rewards of a successful search for ore can be high. Gold is worth \$35 U.S. an ounce because it's hard to find. Gravel is worth only \$1 a yard or so in the pit because it's easy to find. It is fundamental economics like this the speculator should study rather than seek tips.

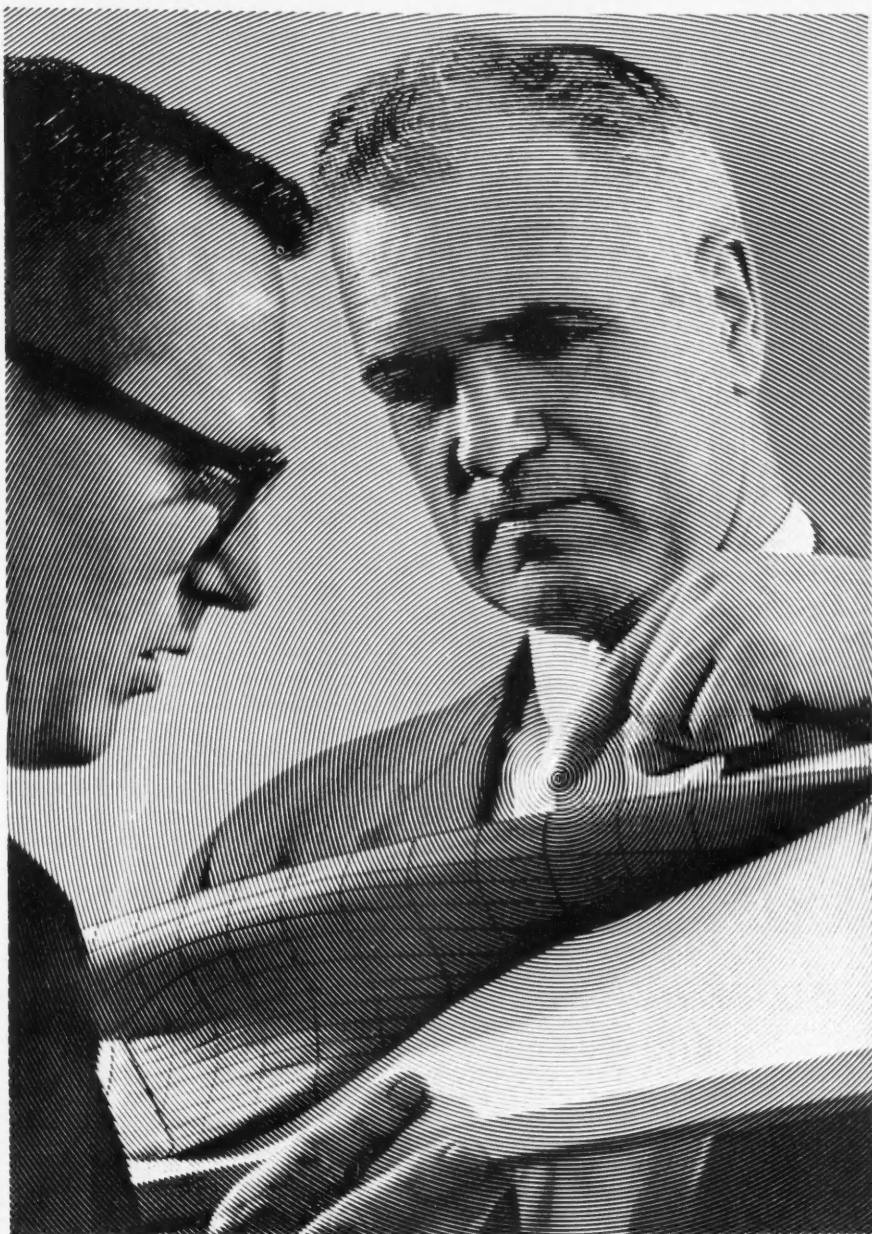
Profits and Taxes

If you saw the real-estate income tax case a few weeks ago on the CBC's televised "Case for the Court", you may be able to help me. It was about a private individual being stuck for income taxes on the profits on a real-estate deal, yet it was indicated that if he had made a profit on stocks it might not have been taxable. Why the distinction? — L.S., Montreal.

In the hypothetical court action, the individual was held liable for taxes on profits on a real-estate deal because of it being in the nature of trade, or something engaged in primarily for profit on sale.

The clincher apparently was that his wife was a real-estate agent, and presumably tipped him off to development prospects which he anticipated in the purchase of a property, later sold for a large profit. This took him out of the category of amateurs, or of owners who buy a property for use, then sell it at a profit they did not anticipate.

An individual can apparently treat stock-market profits as capital gains (untaxable) until it is established that trading is a business with him, as several promoters have found out to their sorrow. They thought they were home free until the courts ruled profits from stock pro-



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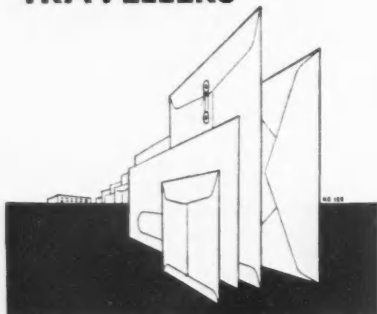
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LOBLAW GROCETERIAS CO. LIMITED

Notice is hereby given that a dividend for quarter ending October 13, 1961, has been declared on the capital stock of the Company as follows:

First Preference
Shares, Cumulative 40 cents
Redeemable Series "B" per share

The dividend will be payable October 14, 1961, to shareholders of record at the close of business on the 15th day of September, 1961. The transfer books will not be closed. Payment will be made in Canadian funds.

By Order of the Board.

R. G. MEECH,
Secretary.

Toronto, August 14, 1961.

motion were in the nature of trade or business profits. Some of them went broke paying their taxes.

Very few individuals ever make enough stock-market profits to be suspected of being professionals. Additionally those who framed the regulations apparently distinguished between profits made by gambling on stocks and those realized from accretions in property values which could be anticipated by a study of development trends.

Brazilian Traction

What are your views of Brazilian Traction as a holding for an indefinite period? Would you recommend a switch? — J.G., Vancouver.

Brazilian Traction could be retained by the speculator, although we do not recommend commitments in foreign situations because of the difficulty of following developments. In the case of Brazilian, the trouble is not with the company although its rate structure appears to be unfavorable compared with North American power generators, but with the foreign-exchange situation.

This precludes the transfer of sufficient Brazilian funds into Canadian currency to permit generosity with dividends, and the market is apathetic to the equity despite its once impressive performance. Your guess on the future of the Brazilian economy, which would improve the currency situation, is as good as any one's.

Gold and Dross does not usually recommend switches although inquirers never cease to ask for them. There are, however, exceptions, and investors locked in Brazilian at higher prices, and unwilling to retain foreign equities, could well consider a switch. The obvious choice would be mining stocks where rapid price gains can be made as a result of ore findings. Read the mining news and pick out a well-sponsored company to follow. But never forget: you're speculating.

Financing Mines

Kindly advise me as to the advisability of speculating in mining-exploration shares generally and of Flint Rock Mines in particular. — L.H., Ottawa.

Mineral deposits which can be worked at a profit are not easy to locate, and since banks and financial institutions will not finance the search, the companies must seek the support of the general public. This is a costly way of raising the money, and any deposit found must be that much richer or more extensive to cover the cost of financing.

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF CANADA

NOTICE OF 310th DIVIDEND

A quarterly dividend of fifty-five cents per share has been declared payable on the 16th day of October, 1961 to shareholders of record at the close of business on the 15th day of September, 1961.

Montreal,
Aug. 23,
1961

S. C. SCADDING,
Secretary



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Even if the money could be raised at no cost, mines would still be a gamble. Upwards of 10,000 mining companies have been incorporated in Canada. Production has been reached by only 1% or 2%, and of these only a portion have reached dividend-paying status.

Flint Rock Mines is currently offered at \$1 a share on the over-the-counter market, with no bid showing. Thus it is problematical what a holder would obtain if he decided not to follow the speculation. And without the guidance of a price which represents broad forces of supply and demand it is difficult to know what is a fair price to pay for any chances which may be inherent in the situation.

Common Market

Do you consider West Coast Transmission a good buy? What do you think of European stocks, growth of which has been phenomenal? Do you think they may be in for a halt? — P.G., Greenwood, N.S.

You could consider West Coast Transmission if your overall position dictates speculative investments. Growth prospects are not unfavorable.

European stocks have done well because of the success of the European common market and the rise of West Germany. You are aware that the U.K. is thinking of entering the common market, and this might hurt Canada's economy. Crystal gazing is dangerous but there does not appear to be any reason to anticipate a breakdown of the Common Market economy, and further rise in European economic standards can be reasonably anticipated.

In Brief

When will Brunswick Mining & Smelting commence production? — B.J., Montreal.

Objective is 1963, with 3,000 tons daily rate.

What's Young-Davidson doing now? — S.L., Saskatoon.

Interested in an asbestos prospect near Matheson, Ont.

How's the ore picture at Quemont? — D.M., Winnipeg.

Six years' ore in reserve, and conducting exploration in hope of additions.

Why is Willroy by-passing the zinc in its mine? — H.J., London.

Decision reflects low zinc prices, and increasing output of copper ore.

Do you still like Hudson Bay H. & S.? — M.O., Halifax.

Yes — as a speculative investment.



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Canada Still Needs a New Party

by Raymond Rodgers

NOW THAT THE Democratic Party (the "New" will surely soon be dropped) and the Liberals have approximately the same programs, we can safely assume they will merge or that one of them will wither away. That leaves us back where we started: we still need a new party. Specifically, we need a new party which will face up to the realities of present-day Canada.

This country was founded in a rural era of poor transportation and communications. Even then, however, the founding fathers foresaw the effects of rail transportation and planted the seeds of centralization in the constitution.

Since then, their wisdom has been over-ruled. We are saddled with too many powerful governments for a small ribbon-shaped population. This fact, more than anything else, is responsible for our bungling in the fields of economics and national unity.

We are also saddled with a rural domination of the electoral machinery—notwithstanding the fact that we are now a nation of urbanites rather than farmers. Yet on both these points, the Democratic Party is no advance over the Liberals (nor over the Conservatives, who have abdicated their historic tradition of centralization and national integration).

Under pressure from Quebec delegates, the Democratic Party has fallen for a policy of "co-operative federalism." This is supposed to result in economic planning on a co-operative basis. But it is fairly clear that such co-operation will not be forthcoming.

Liberal Planning . . .

"An important area for *co-operation* is in the borrowing operations of municipal, provincial and federal authorities. *Co-ordination* could reduce the costs of borrowing to municipalities and provinces. In this and all other matters the Liberal party looks on the federal, provincial and municipal governments not as warring competitors but as effective partners in a *democratic federal system*."

From Liberal Rally resolutions, 1961.

The Democratic Party's best hopes for electoral victory lie in the federal field. They acknowledged this by arranging to split each nickel of party funds on the basis of three cents federal and two cents provincial. If a Democratic Party ever sits in Ottawa, it will face provincial governments of a different stripe—none of whom will want to have anything to do with "socialist" planning, co-operative or otherwise.

The old CCF, despite its many faults, at least had a healthy centralist tradition. The old guard *now* in the Democratic Party think they can stick to that tradition by reviving the unitary principles which have been sleeping in the constitution: such powers as that of declaring a public enterprise as being to the general advantage of Canada. They are in for a shock.

The Quebec wing of the Democratic Party interprets "co-operative federalism" to mean provincial autonomy within the terms of the constitution *as presently interpreted*. The Quebec New Party Committee, during the founding convention, stated bluntly that natural resources must remain a provincial responsibility.

Since most important enterprises—utilities, ore-extracting industries, etc.—are based on natural resources, that means the Democratic Party will never be able to "plan" unless it captures both Ottawa *and* the provinces; and is able to find provincial Democrats willing to co-operate in the national, rather than provincial, interest.

Clearly, the Democratic Party is leading us nowhere. It has made a false capitulation to Quebec. False, because the true interests of French-Canada are not necessarily slighted by the development of a unitary—centralized—Canadian state. In fact, it should be the aim of a *new* party to build a more unitary state which is able to deal effectively with our national problems, including the grievances of French-Canada.

French-Canadians are presently tempted to build an autonomous Quebec economy for three reasons. First, they feel they are not getting a fair

share of the national economic pie. Second, they feel that the rest of Canada does not care about their desire to speak French anywhere in Canada. Third, they want to turn in on themselves and use the Quebec economy to develop French culture in their homeland.

But there is no such thing as a Quebec economy, and if there were one, Canada would be two states rather than one (in fact, it would be three states, since the Maritimes would be blocked off by Quebec). The sensible way to handle the whole problem is to do two things: First, to ensure that French-Canadians *do* get a fair deal in the national economy and the central administration; second, to recognize the French language throughout Canada, not just in Quebec and Ottawa.

If French-Canadians could feel at home anywhere in Canada, at least in their relations with administrative and judicial authorities, and if they were able to be fully at home in the national economy, all talk about provincial autonomy would be cut in half.

The proper task of a new party in Canada—if it wants to come to grips with the problem of developing the country and preserving its independence—is the building of an equitable, unitary state. The first task of a new party is constitutional and electoral reform to achieve this.

NDP notwithstanding, we still have urgent need for a really new party in Canada.

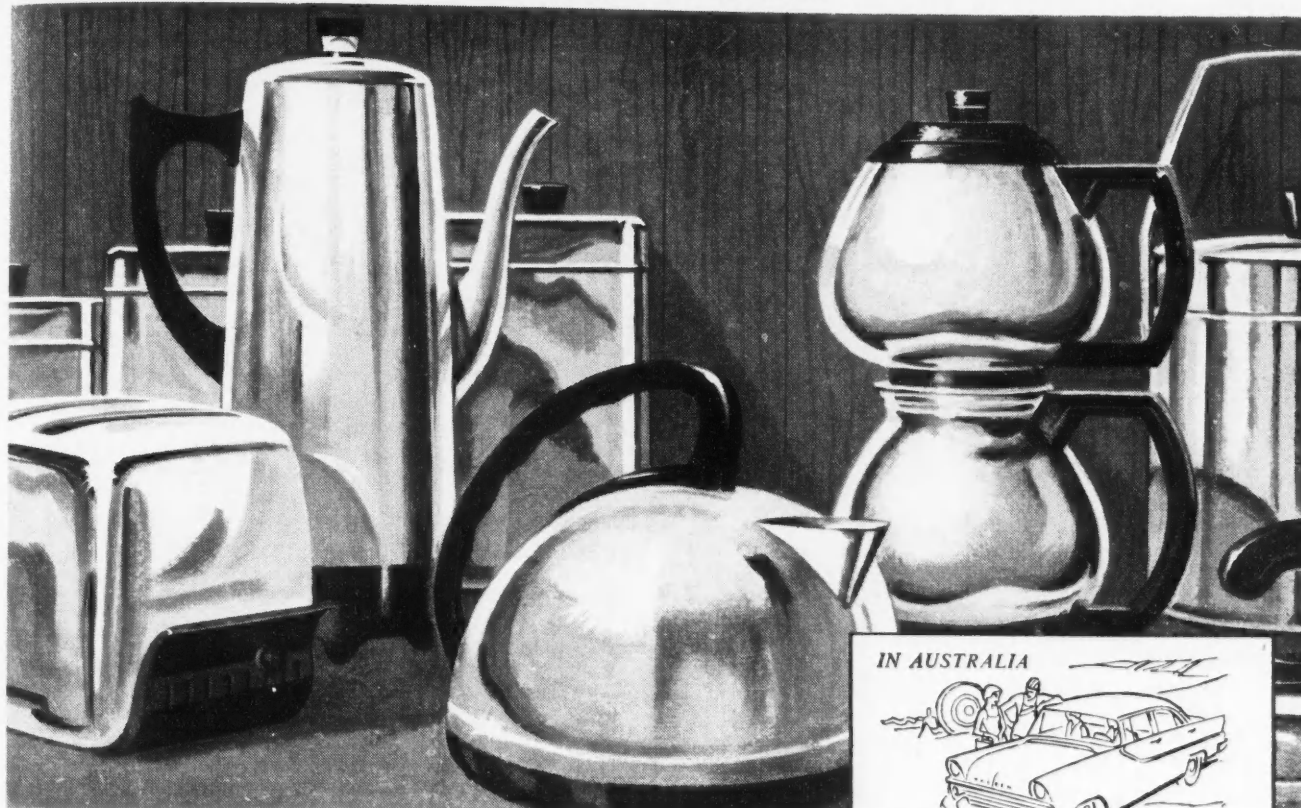
. . . vs. NDP Thinking

"Canadian federalism must provide for the protection of cultural, religious and other democratic rights, permit the vigorous and balanced growth of the country as a whole, and *assure provincial autonomy*. The New Democratic Party believes that social and economic planning must take place at all levels of government. It therefore looks to *close collaboration* amongst responsible governments to *co-ordinate plans* and administration and to set Canadian minimum standards."

Text of NDP program as amended.

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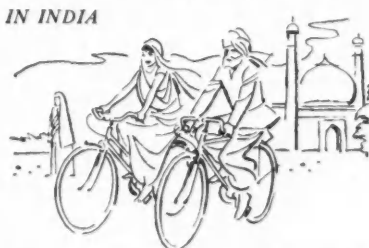
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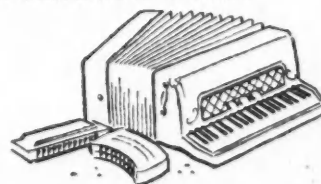
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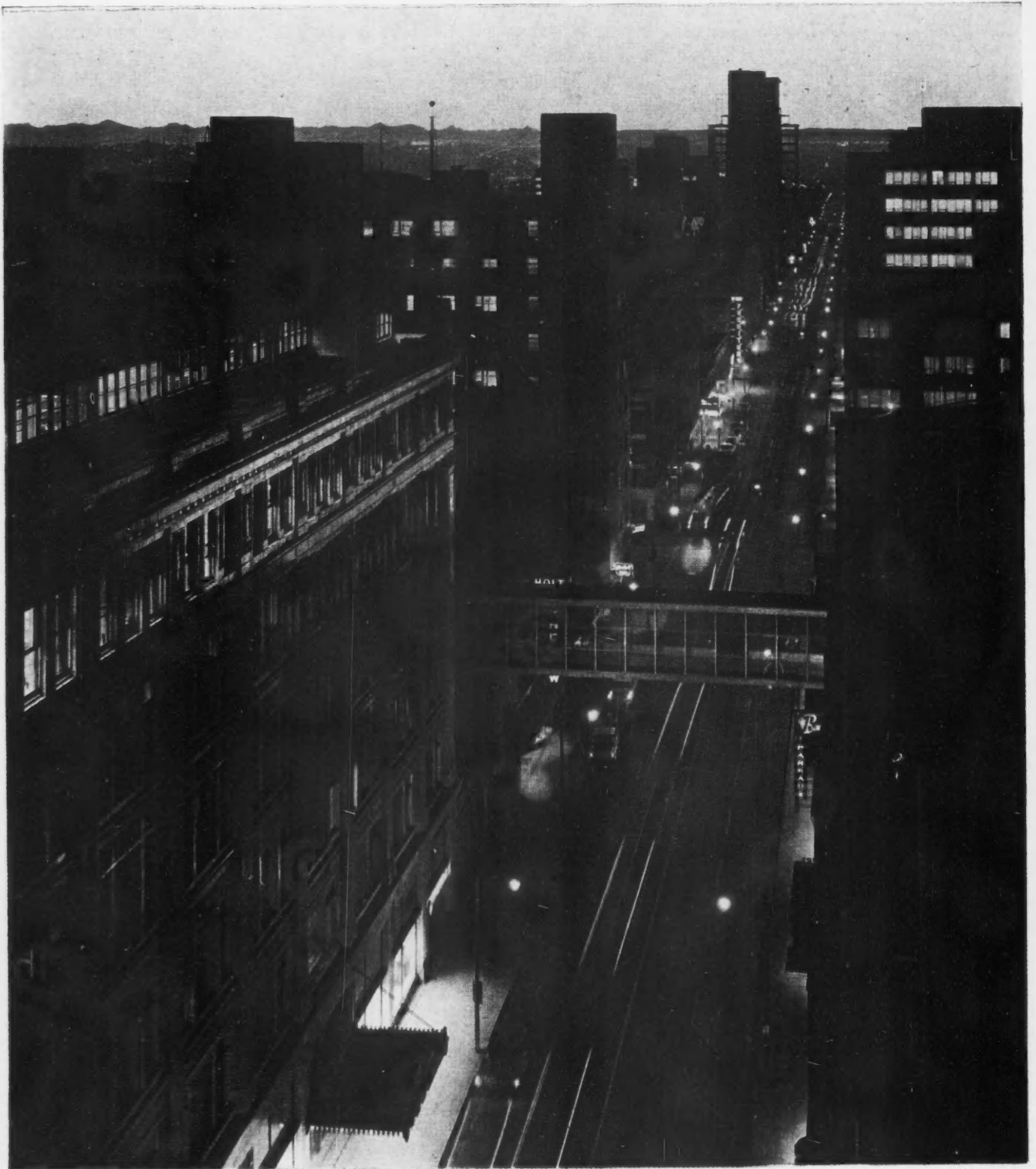
Bicycles are a popular form of transportation in India. It's the quality nickel-chrome plating on bicycle parts that provides a bright, shiny finish that is highly resistant to corrosion.

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